

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY
OF
INDIA.

FOUR REPORTS

MADE DURING THE YEARS
1862—63—64—65,

BY

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VOLUME I

“What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them” — LORD CANNING

“What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally” — JAMES PRINSEP

Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1838, p 227

SIMLA

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P R E F A C E .

THE matter contained in these two volumes is the result of the archaeological survey which I conducted during four consecutive years from 1862 to 1865. The object of this survey cannot be better stated than in the memorandum which I laid before Lord Canning in November 1861, and which led to my immediate appointment as Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India, as notified in the following minute :

Minute by the Right Hon'ble the GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
in Council on the Antiquities of Upper India,—dated 22nd
January 1862

“ IN November last, when at Allahabad, I had some communications with Colonel A. Cunningham, then the Chief Engineer of the North-Western Provinces, regarding an investigation of the archaeological remains of Upper India.

“ It is impossible to pass through that part,—or indeed, so far as my experience goes, any part—of the British territories in India without being struck by the neglect with which the greater portion of the architectural remains, and of the traces of by-gone civilization have been treated, though many of these, and some which have had least notice, are full of beauty and interest.

“ By ‘neglect’ I do not mean only the omission to restore them, or even to arrest their decay; for this would be a task which, in many cases, would require an expenditure of labour and money far greater than any Government of India could reasonably bestow upon it.

“ But so far as the Government is concerned, there has been neglect of a much cheaper duty,—that of investigating and placing on record, for the instruction of future generations, many particulars that might still be rescued from oblivion, and throw light upon the early history of England’s great dependency, a history which, as time moves on, as the country becomes more easily accessible and

traversable, and as Englishmen are led to give more thought to India than such as barely suffices to hold it and govern it will assuredly occupy, more and more the attention of the intelligent and enquiring classes in European countries

“It will not be to our credit, as an enlightened ruling power, if we continue to allow such fields of investigation, as the remains of the old Buddhist capital in Behar, the vast ruins of Kanouj, the plains round Delhi, studded with ruins more thickly than even the Campagna of Rome, and many others to remain without more examination than they have hitherto received. Every thing that has hitherto been done in this way has been done by private persons, imperfectly and without system. It is impossible not to feel that there are European Governments, which if they had held our rule in India, would not have allowed this to be said

“It is true that in 1844, on a representation from the Royal Asiatic Society, and in 1847, in accordance with detailed suggestions from Lord Hardinge, the Court of Directors gave a liberal sanction to certain arrangements for examining, delineating and recording some of the chief antiquities of India. But for one reason or another, mainly perhaps owing to the officer entrusted with the task having other work to do and owing to his early death, very little seems to have resulted from this endeavour. A few drawings of antiquities, and some remains, were transmitted to the India House, and some 15 or 20 papers were contributed by Major Kittoe and Major Cunningham to the Journals of the Asiatic Society, but so far as the Government is concerned, the scheme appears to have been lost sight of within two or three years of its adoption

‘I enclose a memorandum drawn up by Colonel Cunningham, who has, more than any other officer on this side of India, made the antiquities of the country his study, and who has here sketched the course of proceeding which a more complete and systematic archaeological investigation should, in his opinion, take

“I think it good—and none the worse for being a beginning on a moderate scale. It will certainly cost very little in itself, and will commit the Government to no future or unforeseen expense. For it does not contemplate the spending of any money upon repairs and preservation. Thus,

when done at all, should be done upon a separate and full consideration of any case which may seem to claim it. What is aimed at is an accurate description,—illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions,—of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them.

“ I propose that the work be entrusted to Colonel Cunningham, with the understanding that it continue during the present and the following cold season, by which time a fair judgment of its utility and interest may be formed. It may then be persevered in, and expanded, or otherwise dealt with as may seem good at the time.

“ Colonel Cunningham should receive Rs. 450 a month, with Rs. 250 when in the field to defray the cost of making surveys and measurements, and of other mechanical assistance. If something more should be necessary to obtain the services of a native subordinate of the Medical or Public Works Department, competent to take photographic views, it should be given.

“ It would be premature to determine how the results of Colonel Cunningham’s labours should be dealt with, but whilst the Government would of course retain a proprietary right in them for its own purposes, I recommend that the interests of Colonel Cunningham should be considered in the terms upon which they may be furnished to the Public.”

Memorandum by COLONEL A. CUNNINGHAM, of Engineers, regarding a proposed investigation of the archæological remains of Upper India.

“ DURING the one hundred years of British dominion in India, the Government has done little or nothing towards the preservation of its ancient monuments, which, in the almost total absence of any written history, form the only reliable sources of information as to the early condition of the country. Some of these monuments have already endured for ages, and are likely to last for ages still to come; but there are many others which are daily suffering from the effects of time, and which must soon disappear altogether, unless preserved by the accurate drawings and faithful descriptions of the archæologist.

"All that has hitherto been done towards the illustration of ancient Indian history has been due to the unaided efforts of private individuals. These researches consequently have always been desultory and unconnected and frequently incomplete, owing partly to the short stay which individual officers usually make at any particular place, and partly to the limited leisure which could be devoted to such pursuits.

"Hitherto the Government has been chiefly occupied with the extension and consolidation of empire, but the establishment of the Trigonometrical Survey shows that it has not been unmindful of the claims of science. It would redound equally to the honor of the British Government to institute a careful and systematic investigation of all the existing monuments of ancient India.

"In describing the ancient geography of India, the elder Pliny, for the sake of clearness, follows the footsteps of Alexander the Great. For a similar reason, in the present proposed investigation, I would follow the footsteps of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who, in the seventh century of our era, traversed India from west to east and back again for the purpose of visiting all the famous sites of Buddhist history and tradition. In the account of his travels, although the Buddhist remains are described in most detail with all their attendant legends and traditions, yet the numbers and appearance of the Brahmanical temples are also noted, and the travels of the Chinese pilgrim thus hold the same place in the history of India, which those of Pausanias hold in the history of Greece.

"In the North Western Provinces and Bihâr the principal places to be visited and examined are the following, which are also shown in the accompanying sketch map.

"I *Khalsi*, on the Jumna, where the river leaves the hills.—At this place there still exists a large boulder stone, covered with one of Asoka's inscriptions, in which the names of Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus Magas, and Alexander are all recorded. This portion of the inscription, which on the rock of Kapurdigiri (in the Yusufzai plain), and of Dhauli (in Cuttack) is much mutilated and abraded, is here in perfect preservation. A copy of this inscription and an account of the ruins would therefore be valuable.

"II. *Haridwâr*, on the Ganges, with the opposite city Mayurpoora.

"III. *Mandâwar*, *Sambhal*, and *Sahaswân*, in Rohilkhand.

"IV. *Karsâna* near Khâsganj.

"V. *Sankissa*, between Mainpuri and Fattehgarh, where it is known that many remains of Buddhism still exist. This was one of the sacred places amongst the Buddhists.

"VI. *Mathura*.—In one of the ancient mounds outside the city the remains of a large monastery have been lately discovered. Numerous statues, sculptured pillars, and inscribed bases of columns, have been brought to light. Amongst these inscriptions, some, which are dated in an unknown era, are of special interest and value. They belong most probably to the first century of the Christian era, and one of them records the name of the great King Huvishka, who is presumed to be the same as the Indo-Scythian King Hushka.

"VII. *Delhi*.—The Hindu remains of Delhi are few, but interesting. The stone pillars of Asoka and the iron pillar are well known, but the other remains have not yet been described, although none have been more frequently visited than the magnificent ruined cloisters around the Kutb Minar, which belong to the period of the Great Tuâr dynasty.

"VIII. *Kanouj*.—No account of the ruins of this once celebrated capital has yet been published. Several ruins are known to exist, but it may be presumed that many more would be brought to light by a careful survey of the site.

"IX. *Kausâmbi*.—On the Jumna 30 miles above Allahabad —The true position of this once famous city has only lately been ascertained. It has not yet been visited, but it may be confidently expected that its remains would well repay examination.

"X. *Allahabad* —The only existing relics of antiquity that I am aware of are the well known pillar of Asoka and the holy tree in one of the underground apartments of the fort. Many buildings once existed, but I am afraid that they were all destroyed to furnish materials for the erection of the fort in the reign of Akbar.

"XI. To the south of Allahabad there are the ruins of

Rajas of Bundelkhand The remains at Kajraho are more numerous and in better preservation than those of any other ancient city that I have seen. Several long and important inscriptions still exist, which give a complete genealogy of the Chandel dynasty for about 400 years

"XII. *Banâras* —The magnificent tope of Sârnaâth is well known, but no description of the tope, nor of the ruins around it, has yet been published. At a short distance from Banâras is the inscribed pillar of Bhutari, which requires to be re-examined

"XIII. *Jonpur* —Although the existing remains at this place are Muhammadan, yet it is well known that the principal buildings were originally Hindu temples, of which the cloisters still remain almost unaltered. These ruins have not yet been described, but from my own success, in the beginning of this year, in discovering a Sanskrit inscription built into one of the arches, I believe that a careful examination would be rewarded with further discoveries of interest illustrative of the great Râthor dynasty of Kanouj

"XIV. *Fyzâbâd* —The ruins of Ajudhya have not been described. Numerous very ancient coins are found in the site and several ruined mounds are known to exist there, but no account has yet been published. As the birth place of Rama and as the scene of one of the early events in Buddha's life Ajudhya has always been held equally sacred both by Brahmans and Buddhists and I feel satisfied that a systematic examination of its ruins would be rewarded by the discovery of many objects of interest.

"XV. *Srâvasti* —Even the site of this once celebrated city is unknown, but it may be looked for between Fyzâbâd and Gorakhpur

"XVI. *Kapilavastu*, the birth place of Buddha, was held in special veneration by his followers, but its site is unknown.

"XVII. *Kusinagara*, the scene of Buddha's death, was one of the most holy places in India in the estimation of Buddhists but its site is at present unknown. It may, however, confidently be looked for along the line of the Gunduk river. At *Kapila* and *Kusinagara*, the scenes of Buddha's birth and death numerous topes and stately monasteries once existed to attest the pious munificence of his votaries. The ruins of many of these buildings must still

exist, and would no doubt reward a careful search. At *Mathra*, *Radhra*, and *Bakra*, in Tirhut, stone pillars still remain, and in other places ruined topes were seen by Major Kittoe; but no description of these remains has yet been made known.

“XVIII. *Vaisâli*.—This city was the scene of the second Buddhist synod, and was one of the chief places of note amongst Buddhists. At Bassar, to the north of Patna, one tope is known to exist, but no search has yet been made for other remains. The people of Vaisâli were known to Ptolemy, who calls them Passalœ.

“XIX. *Patna*—The ancient Palibothra. I am not aware that there are any existing remains at Patna, but numerous coins, gems, and seals are annually found in the bed of the river.

“XX. *Rajagriha*, between Patna and Gaya, was the capital of Magadha in the time of Buddha. Some of the principal scenes of his life occurred in its neighbourhood, and the place was consequently held in very great veneration by all Buddhists. Every hill and every stream had been made holy by Buddha's presence, and the whole country around Rajagriha was covered with buildings to commemorate the principal events of his life. Numerous ruined topes, sculptured friezes, and inscribed pillars still remain scattered over the country as lasting proofs of the high veneration in which this religious capital of Buddhism was held by the people.

“In this rapid sketch of the places that seem worthy of examination, I have confined myself entirely to the North-Western Provinces, and Bihâr, as containing most of the cities celebrated in the ancient history of India. But to make this account of Indian archæological remains more complete, it would be necessary to examine the ancient cities of the Panjâb, such as Taxila, Sâkala, and Jâlandhar on the west, the caves and inscribed rocks of Cuttack and Orissa on the east, and the topes and other remains of Ujain and Bhilsa, with the caves of Dhamnar and Kholvi in Central India.

“I believe that it would be possible to make a careful examination of all the places which I have noted during two cold seasons. The first season might be devoted to a survey of the Panjâb, and of all the remains in that province.

"I would attach to the description of each place a general survey of the site, showing clearly the positions of all the existing remains, with a ground plan of every building or ruin of special note, accompanied by drawings and sections of all objects of interest. It would be desirable also to have photographic views of many of the remains, both of architecture and of sculpture, but to obtain these it would be necessary to have the services of a photographer. Careful fac similes of all inscriptions would of course be made, ancient coins would also be collected on each site, and all the local traditions would be noted down and compared. The description of each place with all its accompanying drawings and illustrations would be complete in itself, and the whole, when finished, would furnish a detailed and accurate account of the archæological remains of Upper India."

A perusal of the four reports contained in these volumes will show that I carried out with but little deviation the programme laid down in this memorandum. The report of each season's works was written during the following hot weather and rains, which was too short a period to admit of sufficient reading and reflection for the preparation of a well considered account of all the interesting places visited. Each report was printed immediately after its submission to Government for official circulation. Some of these official copies have been reprinted, but the whole stock was soon exhausted, and, as frequent enquiry is still made for them, the present publication is intended to place within the reach of all who are interested in archæological researches a cheap account of the only systematic, though incomplete, survey that has yet been made of the antiquities of Northern India.

The work has been carefully examined and cleared of all obvious errors, and numerous alterations and additions have been made to the text, which is now supplied with the necessary notes and references that were wanting in the official copies. To make the account as complete as possible, I have added no less than ninety nine maps, views, plans and other illustrations, all of which have been drawn by my own hand.

SIMLA
The 15th October 1871

A. CUNNINGHAM

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INTRODUCTION.



THE study of Indian antiquities received its first impulse from SIR WILLIAM JONES, who in 1784 founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Amongst the first members were Warren Hastings, the ablest of our Indian rulers, and Charles Wilkins, who was the first Englishman to acquire a knowledge of Sanskrit, and who cut with his own hands the first Devanâgarî and Bengâlî types. During a residence of little more than ten years, Sir William Jones opened the treasury of Sanskrit literature to the world by the translation of *Sakuntala* and the institutes of *Manu*. His annual discourses to the Society showed the wide grasp of his mind; and the list of works which he drew up is so comprehensive that the whole of his scheme of translations has not even yet been completed by the separate labours of many successors. His first work was to establish a systematic and uniform system of orthography for the transcription of Oriental languages, which, with a very few modifications, has since been generally adopted. This was followed by several essays—On Musical Modes—On the Origin of the Game of Chess, which he traced to India—and On the Lunar Year of the Hindus and their Chronology. In the last paper he made the identification of Chandra-Gupta with Sandrakottos, which for many years was the sole firm ground in the quicksands of Indian history. At the same time he suggested that Palibothra, or Pâtaliputra, the capital of Sandrakottos, must be Patna, as he found that the Sôn River, which joins the Ganges only a few miles above Patna, was also named *Hiranyabâhu*, or the “golden-armed,” an appellation which at once re-called the Erranoboas of Arrian.

The early death of Jones in 1794, which seemed at first to threaten the prosperity of the newly established Society,

was the immediate cause of bringing forward Colebrooke, so that the mantle of the elder was actually caught as it fell by the younger scholar, who, although he had not yet appeared as an author, volunteered to complete the Digest of Hindu Law, which was left unfinished by Jones

CHARLES WILKINS, indeed, had preceded him in the translation of several inscriptions in the first and second volumes of the Asiatic Researches, but his communications then ceased, and on Jones' death in 1794 the public looked to Davis, Wilford, and Colebrooke for the materials of the next volume

SAMUEL DAVIS had already written an excellent paper on Hindu astronomy, and a second on the Indian cycle of Jupiter, but he had no leisure for Sanskrit studies, and his communications to the Asiatic Society now ceased altogether

FRANÇOIS WILFORD an officer of engineers, was of Swiss extraction. He was a good Classical and Sanskrit scholar, and his varied and extensive reading was successfully brought into use for the illustration of ancient Indian geography. But his judgment was not equal to his learning,* and his wild speculations on Egypt and on the Sacred Isles of the West, in the 3rd and 9th volumes of the Asiatic Researches, have dragged him down to a lower position than he is justly entitled to both by his abilities and his attainments. His "Essay on the comparative Geography of India," which was left unfinished at his death and which was only published in 1851 at my earnest recommendation, is entirely free from the speculations of his earlier works, and is a living monument of the better judgment of his latter days

HENRY COLEBROOKE was the worthy successor of Sir William Jones, and though his acquirements were, perhaps, not so varied as those of the brilliant founder of the Society, yet he possessed a scholarship equally accurate in both the Classical and Sanskrit languages. This soon ripened into a wide knowledge of Sanskrit literature, and his early mathematical bias and training, combined with a singularly

* H. H. Wilson in his *Hindu Theatre* I, 9 calls Wilford a "learned and laborious but injudicious writer"

sound judgment, gave him a more complete mastery over the whole range of Sanskrit learning,—its religion, its law and its philosophy, its language and its literature, its algebra and its astronomy,—than any other scholar has since acquired. All Colebrooke's papers may be read both with interest and advantage.

In the first year of this century he gave translations of Visala Deva's inscriptions on the Delhi pillar. These were followed by other translations in the 9th volume of the *Researches* in 1807, and in the 1st volume of the Royal Asiatic Society's *Translations* in 1824, which exhibit the same critical scholarship and sound judgment. But a more valuable contribution is his "Essay on the Vedas,"* which first gave to the European world a full and accurate account of the sacred volumes of the Hindus. Other essays followed at intervals,—on the Sanskrit and Piâkrit languages, on the Philosophy of the Hindus; on the Indian and Arabian divisions of the Zodiac; on the notions of Hindu astronomers concerning the Precession; and on the Algebra of Brahma Gupta and Bhâskara. The mere titles of these essays are sufficient to show the wide range of his studies. But the grasp is as firm as the range is wide, and these essays still remain our standard works on the subjects of which they treat.

Colebrooke left India in 1815. For several years after his return to England he continued his studies and gave to the world some of the essays which have already been noticed. But his latter years were clouded by family bereavements and continued ill health, under which he at last sank on the 10th March 1837, in his 72nd year.†

In the year 1800 DR. BUCHANAN (who afterwards took the name of Hamilton) was deputed by the Marquis of Wellesley to make an agricultural survey of Mysore. This particular duty he performed with much ability; but the value of his work is greatly increased by several interesting notices which he has given of the antiquities of the country, and of the various races of people in Southern India. The best acknowledgment of the value of this work was the

* Asiatic Researches, Vol IX.

† The main facts of this brief sketch are taken from a deeply interesting and instructive memoir written by his son.—See *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol V.

appointment of Buchanan, in 1807, by the Court of Directors, to make a statistical survey of the Bengal Presidency

For seven years Buchanan pursued his survey through the provinces of Bihâr, Shâhâbâd, Bhâgalpur, Gorakhpur, Dinajpur, Purniyya, Rangpur, and Assam, when his labours were unfortunately brought to an abrupt close. The results of the survey were transmitted to England in 1816, where they remained unnoticed until 1838, when Mr Montgomery Martin "obtained permission to examine the manuscripts, which eventually led to their publication." To him we certainly owe the publication of this valuable work, but I must confess that the warmth of my gratitude for this welcome service is absolutely frozen by the coolness of appropriation displayed on the title-page, where the name of Buchanan is entirely omitted, and the districts of Eastern India are stated to have been "surveyed under the orders of the Supreme Government, and collated from the original documents at the East India Office by Montgomery Martin." This singular proceeding has not escaped the notice of M. Vivien de St. Martin, who remarks that the three volumes had been published "*sans y mettre le nom de M. Buchanan.*" It is, however, but fair to say that full credit is given to Buchanan in the introduction, and that the work appears to be satisfactorily edited.

Although the instructions given to Buchanan included neither the history nor the antiquities of the country, yet both were diligently explored by him, and when, after a lapse of upwards of twenty years, a great mass of the matter collected by the survey was found to have become useless, the value of the traditional or recorded history, and of the monuments and relics of antiquity, remained unchanged. All this part of the work has been published by the editor with a fair proportion of plates, from which we learn that Buchanan was amongst the first to perceive the value and importance of detailed plans and exact measurements of remarkable buildings and ancient sites. His notices of the Buddhist remains at Gaya and Baragaon in Bihâr, of Kasia and Kahaon in Gorakhpur, and at many other places, are not less creditable to him because, through delay in the publication of his work, they were partly anticipated by James Prinsep. His historical and archaeological researches in the districts of Eastern India are specially valuable for

their sound judgment and conscientious accuracy. I have myself visited many of the places described by Buchanan, and I can vouch for the meritorious minuteness and strict correctness of his descriptions.

The Indian mantle of Jones, which Colebrooke had worn so worthily for twenty years, was not destined to remain without a claimant. Before Colebrooke left India in 1815 HORACE HAYMAN WILSON had become Secretary of the Asiatic Society, and had published his translation of the *Megha-duta*, or "cloud-messenger" of Kâlidâsa. This was followed in 1819 by his Sanskrit Dictionary, a work of great labour and merit, and in 1827 by his Hindu Theatre, which opened to the European world a novel and interesting variety of the dramatic art. At the same time he contributed many valuable papers to the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, amongst which his translations of stories from Sanskrit and of some episodes from the Mahâbhârata, are perhaps the most pleasing, and his review of the first fifteen volumes of the Asiatic Researches the most important. In 1825 he published an essay on the Hindu history of Kashmir, which gives a clear and very interesting account of the early history of the famous valley.

In the beginning of 1833 Wilson returned to England, where he continued his Oriental studies with unabated ardour. The two principal works of his English career were an account of the coins and antiquities of Afghanistan, contained in "Ariana Antiqua," and his translation of the Rig-Veda. The geographical portion of Ariana Antiqua, under the head of "Early Notices of Ariana," is full and valuable; but his account of Masson's collection of coins makes no advance in Indian numismatics, beyond the point which Prinsep had reached at the time of his death. Indeed, Wilson's archæological writings have added little, if anything, to his reputation. His fame rests on his Sanskrit scholarship, and on the many valuable works, both original and translated, which he gave to the world during his long and brilliant career. To the general public, his most popular work is undoubtedly the Hindu Theatre, in which his true poetic taste and feeling enabled him to do full justice to the masterpieces of the Indian drama. This work has just been re-printed, and it is not likely to be soon superseded by any future scholar, as the different qualities required to produce

an adequate poetic translation are very rarely combined in one person as they were in Horace Hayman Wilson.

In Western India the Kānhari Caves in the Island of Salset were described and illustrated by Salt as early as 1806, although his account was not published until 1819 in the 1st volume of the Bombay Transactions. In the same volume appeared Erskine's admirable account of the elephanta caves, which, however, was written as early as 1813. Like Buchanan in Bengal, Erskine anticipated the period when vague and glowing accounts would give place to accurate descriptions and detailed plans. His essay on the Elephanta Caves has been corrected in a few points by succeeding observers but it is still the best account that we possess of those interesting Brahmanical excavations *.

In the 3rd volume of the same transactions, Colonel Sykes gave the first description of the Muhammadan city of Bijapur, which has since been amply illustrated by the drawings of Hurt and Cumming, and the photographs of Loch, with text by Meadows Taylor and James Fergusson. To Colonel Sykes also belongs the credit of a good account of Ellora, which had been previously illustrated by the drawings of Wales engraved by the Daniells.

The earliest illustrations of Southern India we owe to Thomas Daniell, who, at the close of the last century, visited Madras and made several admirable drawings of the seven pagodas at Mahāmallaipur, which are not surpassed by the best photographs. About the same time Colonel Colin Mackenzie began his antiquarian career in the South, which his successive positions in the Survey Department enabled him to extend successfully over the greater part of the peninsula. His collection of manuscripts and inscriptions is unrivalled for its extent and importance †. His drawings of antiquities fill ten folio volumes, and to this collection Mr Fergusson was indebted for several of the most

* A new description of the cave temples and other antiquities of Elephanta is shortly about to be published by Mr J Burgess, illustrated with plans and other drawings, besides thirteen photographs. As Mr Burgess has already proved himself a most competent describer of Indian antiquities by his two previous works,— *The Temples of Kāthiāwar* illustrated by forty-one photographs, and the *Temples of Satranj ya*, illustrated by forty-five photographs, his new work on Elephanta will, no doubt, be a most valuable and welcome addition to the library of Indian Archaeology.

† See Taylor's Catalogue of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the College of Fort St. George, 3 Vols. thick, 8vo.

valuable illustrations of his "tree and serpent worship." Colin Mackenzie was an ardent and successful collector of archæological materials, but he was not an archæologist. He could dig up and make drawings of the splendid sculptures at Dharanikotta, but he could neither restore the building, nor translate the inscriptions. But, although not a writer himself, the splendid collection of antiquities which he left behind him has been the cause of writing in others. To his drawings we partly owe Ferguson's "tree and serpent worship," and to his collection of manuscripts and inscriptions we are indebted for the greater part of what we at present know of the early history of the southern portion of the peninsula *

When Horace Wilson left India in 1833 the mantle of Sanskrit scholarship fell to Dr. Mill, whose acquaintance with the sacred language of India is acknowledged to have been as profound and as critical as that of his three great predecessors. To him we owe the translation of several important inscriptions; and his early departure from India, in the end of 1837, was looked forward to by James Prinsep as a loss that was not likely to be soon supplied.

But a new era now dawned on Indian archæology, and the thick crust of oblivion, which for so many centuries had covered and concealed the characters and language of the earliest Indian inscriptions, and which the most learned scholars had in vain tried to penetrate, was removed at once and for ever by the penetrating sagacity and intuitive perception of JAMES PRINSEP. During a great part of the years 1836 and 1837, the most active period of his career, I was in almost daily intercourse with him. With our mutual tastes and pursuits this soon ripened into the most intimate friendship. I thus had the privilege of sharing in all his discoveries during their progress. The matured results will be found in the pages of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal; but the germs of his discoveries are related in his letters to me, sometimes almost in the same words as he afterwards made use of in the journal, but generally in the more familiar language of friendly correspondence.

* See Professor Dowson's account of the Southern Kingdoms in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, VIII, 1, and H. H. Wilson's Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pândya in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, III, pp 199 & 387

Prinsep's first great work was the partial decipherment of the Arian Pāli legends of the Bactrian Greek coins, and his last and most important achievement was the decipherment of the Indian Pāli legends of the coins of Surāshtra, and the consequent decipherment and translation of the still earlier edicts of Asoka on the pillars at Delhi and Allahabad. In both of these achievements the first step towards discovery was made by others, and this was most freely and fully acknowledged by Prinsep himself. Regarding the decipherment of the Arian Pāli alphabet, he says—"Mr. Masson first pointed out in a note addressed to myself through the late Dr. Gerard, the Pehlvi signs which he had found to stand for the words *Menandrou*, *Apollodotou*, *Ermaiou*, *Basileos*, and *Soteris*. When a supply of coins came into my hands sufficiently legible to pursue the enquiry, I soon verified the accuracy of his observation, found the same signs with slight variation constantly to recur, and extended the series of words thus authenticated to the names of twelve kings, and to six titles or epithets. It immediately struck me that if the genuine Greek names were faithfully expressed in the unknown character a clue would through them be formed to unravel the value of a portion of the alphabet, which might in its turn be applied to the translated epithets and titles, and thus lead to a knowledge of the language employed. Incompetent as I felt myself to this investigation, it was too seductive not to lead me to a humble attempt at its solution."*

The clue pointed out by Masson was eagerly followed up by Prinsep, who successfully recognized no less than sixteen, or just one half of the thirty three consonants of the Arian alphabet. He discovered also three out of the five initial vowels, and two of the medials, or just one half of the vowels. Here his progress was unfortunately stopped by sudden illness, and he was soon after cut off in the very midst of his brilliant discoveries leaving the task to be slowly completed by others.

In the May number of his journal for 1837,† Prinsep published his readings of the legends on the small silver coins of Surāshtra. In this case he has also given a brief notice

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1835, p. 329.

† Published in June 1837.

of the steps which led to the discovery; but as his letters to me convey a much more vivid and lively account of the untiring perseverance which secured his success, I will give a connected version of the discovery in his own spirited language by extracts from his letters:

11th May 1837.—“Here are two plates addressed to me by Harkness on the part of J. R. Steuart, quarto engravings of 28 Saurâshtra coins, all Chaitya reverses, and very legible inscriptions, which are done in large on the next plate. Oh! but we *must* decipher them! I’ll warrant they have not touched them at home *yet*. Here to amuse you try your hand on this” (here follows a copy of three of the coin legends, with the letters forming the words *Rajnah* and *Kshatrapasa*, each of which occurs twice, marked, respectively, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, shewing that he had begun to analyze them the same day).

12th May, 7 o’clock, a. m.—“You may save yourself any further trouble. I have made them all out this very moment on first inspection. Take a few examples (here follow both the original legends and the Nâgari renderings)

1 to 4—*Raja Krittamasa Rudra Sâhasa Swâmi Jahatuma putrasa.*

5 to 8—*Raja Krittamasya Sagadamta Raja Rudra Sâhasa putrasya.*

And thus every one of them gives the name of his father of blessed memory, and we have a train of some eight or ten names to rival the Guptas!! Hurra! I hope the chaps at home wont seize the prize first. No fear of Wilson at any rate! I must make out a plate of the names on ours added to Steuart’s, and give it immediate insertion. It is marvelously curious that, like the modern Sindhi and Multâni, all the matras, or vowels, are omitted, and the Sanskrit terminations *sya*, &c, *pâl* or vernacularized. This confirms the reading which I had printed only a day or two ago, *Vyaya Mitasa* for *Mitrasya*, of Mithra, identifying him and the devise with our OKPO bull coin! Bravo, we shall unravel it yet.”

Here we see that, although he had mastered the greater part of these legends almost at first sight yet the readings

or some of the names were still doubtful. But two days later he writes as follows

Sunday (postmark, May 14, 1887) —“Look into your cabinet and see what names you have of the Saurāshtra series. Steuart’s list is as follows

Rajas *Rudra Sah*, son of *Śivāmi Janadāma*
 „ *Atri Dāmā* „ *Rudra Sah*
 &c., &c.

“The Sanskrit on these coins is beautiful, being in the genitive case after the Greek fashion. We have *Rajnya* for *Raja*, *Atri-Dāmnah* for *Atri-Dāma*, *Vira-Dāmnah* for *Vira-Dāma*, *Viśva Śāhāsya* for *Viśva Śāha*, which are all confirmed by the real name losing the genitive affix when joined to *putrasya*.

“I have made progress in reading the Peacock Saurash trans—

Sri bama saga deva jayati

————— *kramaditya paramesa* *tu*

“Chulao bhai, juldee puhonohoge!”*

In these lively letters we see that the whole process of discovery occupied only three days, from the first receipt of Steuart’s plates to the complete reading of all the legends. Nothing can better show the enthusiastic ardour and unwearied perseverance with which he followed up this new pursuit than these interesting records of the daily progress of his discoveries. When I recollect that I was then only a young lad of twenty three years age, I feel as much wonder as pride that James Prinsep should have thought me worthy of being made the confidant of all his great discoveries.

But the decipherment of the legends on the Saurāshtran coins was but the precursor of a still more important discovery. Success only seemed to inspire James Prinsep with fresh ardour. No difficulty daunted his enthusiasm, and no labour tired his perseverance. Only a few years previously he had analyzed the characters of Samudra Gupta’s inscription on the Allahabad pillar, and had distinguished the

* This is the common exclamation of pilgrim bearers to encourage one another—“Go on brother we shall soon get there!”

attached vowels, *a, e, i*, and *u*; but the long *ī* he mistook for *o*. At that time he had despaired of reading these old inscriptions,* from “want of a competent knowledge of the Sanskrit language.” But his present success stimulated him to renew his former attempt. Fortunately just at this time he received a number of short inscriptions from the great *stupa* at Sānchi near Bhilsa. These he read almost at a glance with the exception of two or three letters, which, however, soon yielded to his perseverance. He then proceeded to examine the inscriptions on the Delhi pillar, and at once read the opening sentence without any difficulty or hesitation.

Prinsep’s final readings of the Saurāshtran coin legends was announced to me on the 14th May, and this later discovery of the still older inscriptions of the Sānchi Stupa and Delhi pillar was completed before breakfast on 23rd May, or only nine days later. His formal account of the discovery is given in the journal; † but his brief announcement to me is very interesting, as it shows that he had *at once* determined to attempt the translation of the whole of Asoka’s edicts. I give this letter entire.

23rd May 1837.—“MY DEAR CUNNINGHAM,—Hors du departement de mes études ‡ Sultan Adil, &c. No, but I can read the Delhi No. 1, which is of more importance, the Bhilsa inscriptions have enlightened me. Each line is engraved on a separate pillar or *dhwaja*. Then, thought I, they must be gifts of private individuals, whose names will be recorded. All end in *dānam*—that must mean ‘gift, or given,’ *dānam*—genitive must be prefixed. Let’s see.

Isa-pālita-cha Sāmanasa-cha dānam.

“The gift of Isa-Pālita (protected of God) and of Sāmana.

Sāmanerasa Abeyakasa Sethnon dānam

“The gift of Sāmanera and Abeyaka Sethi

* See Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, 1834, p. 117, and compare 1837, p. 452

† In Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, 1837, p. 460

‡ This was an expression by the famous French academician, Raoul Rochette, regarding the Arian legends of the Bactrian coins. It tickled Prinsep’s fancy particularly, and he was frequently quoting it. In the present instance I had sent him a Muhammadan coin and asked if he could read it. Instead of saying no, he quoted Raoul Rochette,

Buddha pālitaśa lichhunon dānam

"The gift of the protected of Buddha, the Lichhunān *

Vijatasa dānam

"Eh? will not this do? and the pillar inscription

Devdam piya piyadasī Raja hevam ahā

"The most particularly beloved-of the gods Raja declareth thus

"I think with Ratna Pāla, whom I shall summon, we shall be able to read the whole of these manifestoes of the right faith—Buddha's bulls Will send plates after breakfast

"Yours,

"J P "

The formal announcement of this discovery was made in the June number of the journal which was published in July, by which Prinsep had recognized the true values of all the letters which he had yet found, and the old alphabet was complete with the exception of the very rare letters *gh* and *jh*, and the guttural, palatal, and cerebral *n*'s

To Professor Lassen belongs the honor of having been the first to read any of these unknown characters. In the previous year 1836, he had read the Indian Pāl legend on the square copper coins of Agathokles as *Agathukla Raja* † James Prinsep was puzzled by finding "that nearly the same characters appear on the coins of Pantaleon." He admitted however, that "it might be possible to assimilate the word to the Greek on the supposition of the first syllable being wanting" thus forming *talava*. On referring to the coin indicated I find that the first letter is actually wanting, and that he had read the three letters of the name correctly. So near was he to making the discovery at that time that it would probably have been completed at once had there been a perfect coin of Pantaleon to refer to for the first letter of the name.

This word should be *Bhaddhano*, the mendicant monk, but Prinsep had not then recognised the true form of the *bh*. He took *l* for *bh*, and when he came to the true *l* in *l* *ka* he read the word as *Eka*, as in the next instance which he gives from the Delhi Pillar.

† In a letter to James Prinsep referred to in the Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society 1840 1 23

As mentioned in his letter to me, Prinsep had at once invited Ratna Pâla, the Pâli scholar, to assist him in reading the inscription, and with his aid he was able to translate at once several important passages, such as, "in the twenty-seventh year of my reign." So unremitting was his industry and so rapid his intuitive perception, that he had finished his translation by the end of July, and the complete version appeared in the journal for that month, which was published in the middle of August.

Coins and inscriptions now poured in upon him so fast from all parts of India that much of his valuable time was now occupied in private correspondence, and when I left Calcutta towards the end of October 1837, he was working from twelve to sixteen hours daily. Much of his time was, of course, occupied with his public duties as Assay Master of the Calcutta Mint, as he wrote to me, "my whole day is consumed at the scales. What a waste of precious moments !"

A few days after my departure he received copies of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri inscriptions from Kittoe, and faithful impressions of all the inscriptions on the Allahabad pillar from Colonel Smith. With all his wonted industry and enthusiasm he set to work upon these new records, and was able to give a revised translation of Samudra Gupta's inscription in the November number of his journal, and a long and valuable note on the inscriptions from Udayagiri and Khandagiri in the December number. Yet, in spite of all these labours, so little conscious did he feel of exhaustion that he wrote to me on "December 27th, 7 A. M., to get a new Gupta inscription for the January Number ! !"

Prinsep now took up the rock-inscriptions of Asoka, and in a postscript to a letter of 12th February 1838, he said to me "dont expect me to write again for a long spell. I must set to work on the Girnâri." But on the 3rd March I heard from him again that he had "made une découverte épouvantable ! no less than the treaty (an article at least) between Antiochus and Sophagasenas. Shall I leave you to guess how, where, and when ? No, but keep it secret till I announce it at the Society. I have happily discovered that many of the edicts at Gujarât and Cuttack are verbatim the same. Among them is one announcing the establishment

of a medical arrangement for men and animals " This discovery was announced to the Asiatic Society on the 7th March, and published in the February number of the journal.

As Prinsep proceeded with his examination of the rock inscriptions, he discovered the names of Ptolemy, Antigonus, and Magas, in addition to a second mention of Antiochus. He had previously felt the want of a good impression of the Girnâr inscription, but this brilliant discovery made him still more anxious to obtain a complete and correct copy. After thinking over the matter for some time, it seemed that the surest and quickest way was to address the Governor General on the subject, which was accordingly done at once, as explained in the following letter to me

28th March 1838 — "In the enthusiasm of the moment I took up my pen and addressed the enclosed bold petition to Lord Auckland, which, on sober reflection, I am afraid of sending, lest I should be thought presumptuous in imagining others care as much about old inscriptions as I do! I therefore enclose it to you instead that you may act upon it as you may find a fit occasion. The passage in the 14th edict is much mutilated, and I long for a more correct copy * * It really becomes interesting to find Egypt and Ptolemy known to Asoka! I must give *you* the real text" (here follows the text in the original Pâli characters, which I give in *italic* letters with Prinsep's interlinear translation)

Yona rāja parāṃ cha tena Chaptāro
Greek King furthermore by whom the *Gypta*
Rajāno Tulamayo cha Antigona cha Maga cha
Rajas, Ptolemy and Antigonus and Magas and
* * * *savata Devānampiyasa*
* * * everywhere beloved's
Dhammānusasti anubhatate yata pajati
Religious precept reaches where goes

Some doubt about the *Plāro rājāno*, or *Chaptāro*, which may be read *chaticdro rājāno*, 'the four kings,' *Plaro*, the *Pla* or *Plha* (worshipping) kings, *Guptaro*, or *Chaptaro*, *rajano*, the 'Koptic or Aegyptiac kings,' but the name of Magas is so distinct that I give up the four kings in favor of Egypt.

"I have no time to expatiate hereupon. I shall publish in the next journal, although probably I shall be forced to alter my Antiochus *the Great* theory to the contemporary Antiochus of Ptolemy Philadelphus (247 B. C.), in whose time Magas held part of Egypt (Cyrene), and whose period agrees better with Asoka's reign. Hurrah for inscriptions!"

Prinsep's bold appeal to the head of the Government was of course successful, for Lord Auckland was a liberal patron of both literature and science. The Governor of Bombay was accordingly requested to depute a qualified officer for the purpose of taking a *fac-simile* of the inscriptions.* The new impressions were made with great care, but they did not reach Calcutta until after Prinsep's departure. I was not even aware that they had been sent to Calcutta until last January, when, looking for some of Kittoe's inscriptions, I stumbled on the Girnâr edicts of Asoka.

In the meantime Prinsep continued his labours by publishing a translation of the Junagarh inscription of Rudra Dâma in the April number of the journal; an "examination of the separate edicts at Dhauli in Cuttack" in the May number; translations of some additional short records from the Sânci Stupa near Bhilsa in the June number; and the "discovery of the Bactrian alphabet" in the July number; which was published about the middle of August. These were his last contributions to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.†

After his revision of the Bactrian alphabet, he naturally turned to the inscriptions which Ventura and Court had extracted from the stupas at Mânikyâla, and which Masson had obtained from the stupas of the Kabul Valley. His attention was also turned to the reading of the later coins "which mark the decadence of Greek dominion and Greek skill. These are the most precious to the student of Indian history. Through their Native legends we may yet hope to throw light on the obscure age of Vikramâditya and the Scythian successors of the Greeks on the north of India."‡ So important did he consider this class of coins that he

* See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1838, p. 365

† These different articles will be found in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1838, pp. 364, 484, 562, & 636

‡ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1831, p. 655.

specially invited attention to them, and promised to return to their investigation, his text being "those coins on which the Native and Greek legends differ, or record different names"

This subject still occupied his attention when he was overtaken by sickness and obliged to proceed to sea for change of air. He was "off Kedgerree" on the 28th September 1838, when he wrote his last letter to me to acknowledge the receipt of the coins which I had selected from Sir Alexander Burnes' new collection for his examination. He was disappointed at not finding any new names, and says "I almost fear the field is exhausted, my only hope is of new *Spalahara* types among the crowd of 'frustes' coins". As the coins of *Spalahara* belong to the class "on which the Native and Greek legends differ, this passage shows that down to the very last his thoughts were engaged on the completion of the Bactrian alphabet, and the translation of the tope inscriptions. I also draw the same conclusion from another paragraph of the same letter where he says, "I told you (did I not?) that Lassen had hit upon the exact key to the Bactrian alphabet I have made use of"

His trip to sea did him no good, as he wrote to me that he "never was so idle, so listless, or so headachey in his life," and after a long and amusing account of all the surrounding discomforts, he exclaims "Oh! the pleasures of running down to the Sandheads for a week to restore the health!" He longed "to get home to his own desk" in Calcutta, where he hoped to find that Dr McLeod had arrived safe, that is, with the mass of Burnes' collection of coins

On his return to Calcutta he gradually became worse and was obliged to leave India in the end of October. He was in a hopeless state when he reached England from softening of the brain and after lingering for about a year he sank on the 22nd of April 1840 at 40 years of age. Thus died James Prinsep in the very prime of life, and in the very midst of his brilliant discoveries. When we remember that he was only just thirty nine years old when his career was suddenly arrested by illness, it is impossible to help regretting that he was not spared for a few years longer to complete and perfect what he had already done and perhaps to add fresh laurels to his fame by further discoveries. But

James Prinsep had done his work; for all his brilliant discoveries, which would have been the labour of ten or a dozen years to most other men, were made during the last three years of his career, and although he was still young in years, he had already done the work of a good old age. The career of James Prinsep has been fitly and eloquently described by his friend Dr. Hugh Falconer, who knew him well. From this able sketch I extract the following appreciative notice of Prinsep's rare talents: "Of his intellectual character the most prominent feature was enthusiasm—one of the prime elements of genius; a burning irrepressible enthusiasm, to which nothing could set bounds, and which communicated itself to whatever came before him. The very strength of his mental constitution in this respect was perhaps opposed to his attaining the excellence of a profound thinker, it led him to be carried away frequently by first impressions, and to apply his powers to a greater range of subjects than any human mind can master or excel in. To this enthusiasm was fortunately united a habitude of order, and power of generalization, which enabled him to grasp and comprehend the greatest variety of details. His powers of perception were impressed with genius—they were clear, vigorous, and instantaneous."^{*}

Dr. Falconer formed a true and just estimate of Prinsep's powers of perception, which were equally remarkable for their vigour and their instantaneousness. The quickness of his perception was indeed wonderful, so that many of his discoveries may be said literally to have flashed upon him; or, as he himself describes one of them in a letter to me, "like inspiration, or lightning, or Louisa's eyes, the light at once broke upon me."[†] But the great point in Prinsep's character was his ardent enthusiasm, which charmed and melted all who came in contact with him. Even at this distance of time, when a whole generation has passed away, I feel that his letters still possess the same power of winning my warmest sympathy in all his discoveries, and that his joyous and generous disposition still communicates the same contagious enthusiasm and the same strong desire to assist in further achievements.

* Extracted from the Colonial Magazine for December 1840, by Mr E Thomas in his edition of Prinsep's "Essays on Indian Antiquities."

† Letter of 27th January 1838 The name of Louisa is written in Asoka characters as *Lu iṛa*.

The powerful impulse given to Indian archæology by James Prinsep was produced quite as much by the enthusiasm which he kindled in every one who came in contact with him, as by his translations of the old inscriptions of Asoka, which gave life to records that had been dead for more than two thousand years, and that now form our chief landmarks in ancient Indian history. The impulse was not lost after his death, but the progress of research, which during his life-time had been conducted as one great voyage of discovery under his sole command, has since been limited to lesser expeditions in various directions. As these were led by many different persons, each acting independently, the amount of progress may, perhaps, seem comparatively little, whereas it has been really great, and only seems little because the work actually done has been very gradually achieved and has never yet been summed up and gathered together.

Of James Prinsep's successors during the last thirty years, the most prominent have been James Fergusson, Markham Kittoe, Mr Edward Thomas, and myself, in Northern India, Sir Walter Elliot in Southern India, and Colonel Meadows Taylor, Dr Stevenson, and Dr Bhau Dâji in Western India.

From the foundation of the Asiatic Society by Sir William Jones in 1784 down to 1834, a period of just half a century our archæological researches had been chiefly literary, and, with a few notable exceptions, had been confined to translations of books and inscriptions with brief notices of some of the principal buildings at Delhi and Agra and other well known places. The exceptions are several valuable essays by Jones, Wilford,* Colebrooke, and Wilson, on the religion, the geography and the astronomy of the Hindus, which have already been noticed. These early labourers may be called the *Oloset or Scholastic Archæologists*. The travellers of their day gave glowing accounts of the wonders of Ellora, of the massive grandeur of the Kutb Minar, and of the matchless beauty of the Taj Mahal at Agra. But all was vague and indefinite. There were but few measurements and no plans. True history was then but little known, and

* I consider Wilford's essays valuable in spite of their wild speculations, as they contain much information and undigested learning, in which important facts and curious classical references will be found imbedded in a mass of crude speculation.

the lying gabble of Brahmans, which connected every place with the wanderings of Râma or the exile of the five Pândus, was accepted as the real voice of genuine tradition.

But a new era opened for Indian archæology in 1834, when James Prinsep gave to the world the first results of Masson's researches in the Kabul valley, and of Ventura's and Court's explorations in the Panjâb, followed immediately by my own excavation of the stupa at Sâr-nâth, Banâras, and of the ruins around it. Facts now poured in rapidly, but though many in number, they were still bare and unconnected facts, mere fossil fragments of the great skeleton of lost Indian history. The full skeleton has not yet been set up; but many of its members are now almost complete, and we have acquired a very fair knowledge of the general outline and of the various forms which it has assumed at different periods. For this result we are much indebted to men who are not Sanskrit scholars, and whose success has been achieved by actual measurements and laborious explorations in the field, combined with patient research and studious investigation in the closet. During James Prinsep's life-time, the materials collected by these "field archæologists," or "travelling antiquarians" as he called them, were all made over to him, but since his death, each observer has worked independently in his own line, and has published separately the results of his own labours.

Amongst the foremost and most successful of the later archæologists is my friend JAMES FERGUSSON, whose masterly works on Indian architecture are the result of extensive travels through a great part of India, undertaken for the express purpose of studying this important and interesting subject. It is entirely his own, and I trust that he may shortly be able to fulfil his long-cherished project of publishing an illustrated history of Indian architecture, such as he only can give us.

Mr. Fergusson's first publication was an account of the "rock-cut temples of India, 1845, in which he gives a detailed account of all the groups of caves that were then known, and endeavours to fix their approximate dates by differences of style and other distinctive characteristics. This rule is rigorously true in principle; but to make its results of any value, it is absolutely necessary that we should have at least

a few fixed stand points of known dates for comparison. Thus we may be quite certain that any temple B is an improvement on A, and is less advanced than C, and we conclude accordingly that it is of intermediate age between A and C. But if the dates of A and C are both unknown, our deduction is comparatively of little value, and even if we should know the date of C, any deduction as to the date of B will be liable to at least half the amount of error in the assumed date of A. No one is more fully aware of this than Mr Fergusson himself, as he admits that his conclusions "have been arrived at almost entirely from a critical survey of the whole series, and a careful comparison of one cave with another, and with the different structural buildings in their neighbourhood, the dates of which are at least *approximately* known"* But I think that he is inclined to overrate the value of these critical deductions, when he says that "inscriptions will not certainly by themselves answer the purpose," and he gives in proof of this assumption the fact that there is a comparatively modern inscription in the Ganes Gumpha Cave at Udayagiri. But what proof have we that many of the caves were not originally quite plain like those of Barabar, and that the ornamentation is not the work of a much later age? I differ from Mr Fergusson on this point, as I consider that inscriptions are, beyond all doubt, the most certain and the most trustworthy authority for determining the dates of Indian monuments, whether buildings or caves. I freely admit the corroborative value of architectural evidence when it is founded on ascertained dates, but when it is unsupported by inscriptions, I look upon it in the present state of our knowledge, as always more or less uncertain, and, therefore, weak.

The best proof which I can give of the weakness of Mr Fergusson's argument, in the present state of our knowledge, is to quote the dates which he has deduced for the well known caves of *Kānhari* in Salset, which he assigns as follows: "First those in the ravine in the fourth or fifth century, those last described, with those on each side of the great cave, probably at least a century later, then the great cave"†. Now the inscriptions in the *Kānhari* caves are very

* *Rock-cut Temples of India*, p. 2.

† *Rock-cut Temples of India*, p. 30.

numerous; and though there are a few mediæval records, yet any evidence of late date which they might be supposed to afford is utterly annihilated by the presence in the same caves of much older inscriptions of the same style and character as the mass of the Kânhari records, which are certainly not later than the Gupta inscriptions of Northern India. In fact, one of them gives the date of 30 of the *Saka-ditya-kāla*, or A. D. 108. I have copied part of the inscription in the great cave with my own hand, and, after comparing my copy with that of Mr. West, I can see no difference of age between the characters used in the great cave and those in the other caves. I therefore refer the great mass of the Kânhari inscriptions to the first and second centuries of the Christian era, so that there is a difference of at least four centuries between Mr. Fergusson's mean date and mine.

The Kârle caves Mr. Fergusson is inclined to assign to the first, or even the second century before Christ.* One of the caves is certainly older than the Christian era, as it possesses an inscription of the great Satrap King Nahapâna.† But there are two others of King Pudumayi, the son of Vâsithi, whom I place in the beginning of the second century of the Christian era, but whom Mr. Fergusson assigns to the middle of the fourth century, although in his chronology he admits that Ananda, also a son of Vâsithi, and therefore most probably a brother of Pudumayi, and the founder of one of the gateways of the Great Sâncî Tope, lived towards the end of the first century.

I have entered thus fully into the question of the dates of the Western Caves, partly lest my silence should be looked upon as acquiescence in Mr. Fergusson's conclusions,‡ and partly out of deference to his deservedly high name and well-earned reputation as an earnest and able enquirer into Indian History and Archæology. Mr. Fergusson is well aware that I differ from him on many points

* Rock-cut Temples of India, pp 30 34

† Journal, Bombay Asiatic Society, V, Kârli Inscription No 5, for Nahapana, and Nos. 4 and 18 for Pudumayi.

‡ This, indeed, has already happened, as Mr C R Markham, in his Memoir on the Archæological Survey, p. 181, concludes that Mr Fergusson's Rock-cut Temples of India "may be considered as having placed the theory of the age and uses of those monuments on a basis of certainty, which has never since been called in question"

of early Indian chronology, and I believe that by thus publicly stating my views on these points, we shall the sooner arrive at the truth, as probably others will now be led to think upon the subject, who would otherwise perhaps have passed it entirely over as a matter that was undisputed, and therefore finally settled

In his next work, entitled "Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in India," Mr Fergusson makes use of the same principles of characteristic differences and similarities of style to fix the dates of the mediæval temples of the Brahmans and Jains. Here I agree with him throughout, for the process of deduction is now perfectly trustworthy, being founded on actual dates, as there is a sufficient number of structural temples of the Jains and Brahmans of known age to furnish us with data for determining very closely the ages of uninscribed buildings. This is specially noteworthy in the case of the rock cut Brahmanical temples of Dhamnār, which, from their general style, Mr Fergusson has assigned to the eighth or ninth century,* a date which must be very close to the truth, as I found a statue in one of the smaller temples inscribed with characters which certainly belong to that period. The examples of Indian architecture given by Mr Fergusson in this work are very fine and choice, especially the rich temple at Chandrāvati, which I have seen and which I agree with him in thinking "the most elegant specimen of columnar architecture in Upper India."

In his "Handbook of Architecture (1855) he has given a classification of all the different Indian styles, both Hindu and Muhammadan, which is considerably enlarged and improved in his later work, the "History of Architecture" (1867). In the latter we have the matured result of a long and critical study of the subject. The classification is complete and comprehensive, and though perhaps exception may be taken to one or two of the names, yet it is difficult to find others that would be better. The limited space at his command has obliged him to treat each different style very briefly, but the distinctions are so broadly and clearly defined in the typical examples selected for illustration, that I cannot help feeling impatient for the appearance

* Rock-cut Temples of India, p. 41.

of his great work, the "Illustrated History of Indian Architecture," which he originally projected more than a quarter of a century ago, and for which, during the whole of that time, he has been assiduously collecting materials.

Mr. Fergusson's last work, named "Tree and Serpent Worship" is the most sumptuously illustrated work on Indian antiquities that has yet been published. In it he gives a description of the two richly-sculptured Stupas of Sânci and Amaravati, with a profusion of excellent illustrations from Colonel Maisey's accurate drawings and Captain Waterhouse's photographs of the former, and from Colonel Mackenzie's drawings, and the actual bas-reliefs of the latter which are now in London. Mr. Fergusson has accepted my dates for the Sânci Tope and its gateways, namely, B. C. 250, during the reign of Asoka for the former, and the first century A. D. for the latter; but the Amaravati Tope he places three hundred years later, in the first half of the fourth century A. D. I understand that he has been led to adopt this difference of age chiefly on account of the difference of style which he has observed in the sculptures of the two monuments. I must confess that this great difference of style is not palpable to me. On the contrary, from the similar dress of the men, and the similar general nakedness of the women, save only the peculiar belt of five rows of beads, the sculptures of the two monuments appear to me to be of much the same age. I draw the same conclusion also from the inscriptions which are undoubtedly of the same age as those of the caves of Kânhari and of the Sânci Tope Gateways. As I have already pointed out, there are in the Kânhari caves two inscriptions of Pudumayi, the son of Vâsithi, in exactly the same characters as those of Ananda, the son of Vâsithi, on the south gateway of the Sânci Tope. I conclude, therefore, with some certainty, that Pudumayi and Ananda were brothers; and consequently I refer all the inscriptions of the King Gotamiputra Sâtakarni and his successors Pudumayi and Yâdnya Sri to the first and second centuries A. D. As by far the greater number of the Amaravati inscriptions are in exactly the same characters, it seems almost certain that they must belong to the same period. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Buddhist coins of all these three Princes have been found at Amaravati, with types and inscriptions which range them as

contemporaries of the Satrap Chiefs of Surashtra Mr Fergusson has adopted the statement of the Purāṇas, that the Andhras ruled over Magadha in succession to the Kanwas, but this position is quite untenable, as we know from Pliny that at this very time the Prasū, that is the people of Palāśaka or Magadha, were dominant on the Ganges, and possessed an army six times greater than that of the Andaræ Indi *

With respect to the title of this last work of Mr Fergusson,—“Tree and Serpent Worship,”—I submit that it is not borne out by the illustrations, and further, that, as serpent-worship was antagonistic to Buddhism, such a title is not applicable to a description of the religious scenes sculptured on a Buddhist Stupa. I can perceive no serpent-worship in these illustrations. On the contrary, I find that the Nāgas are generally doing homage to Buddha, in perfect accordance with all the Buddhist legends, which invariably represent the Nāgas as at first the bitter enemies of Buddha. Afterwards, when converted by his preaching, they became his staunchest adherents, and are specially stated to have formed canopies over his head with their hoods to protect him from the sun and rain. The presence of *Nāgas* in the Amaravati sculptures is only natural, as the king of the country and his subjects are described in all the legends as Nāgas. In the sculptures, therefore, the king and his women are generally represented with serpent hoods but, as far as I have observed, they are invariably the worshippers of Buddha, and not the objects of worship.

On these two points I am sorry to be obliged to differ from Mr Fergusson. But neither of them affects the main purpose of the work, which is devoted to the illustration and restoration of the Amaravati Tope. This work he has done most thoroughly, and I accept his restoration as almost certain.

MARKHAM KITTOE was already known for his architectural taste by his design for the little church at Jonpur and his drawings of Muhammadan buildings, when, towards the close of 1836, the march of his regiment from the Upper Provinces to Medinipur brought him through Calcutta,

* James Prinsep saw that these successive dynasties of the Purāṇas must have been parallel or contemporary.—*Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society* 1838, p. 317

where he first saw James Prinsep. He was then engaged in the preparation of a work, which appeared in 1838, under the title of "Illustrations of Indian Architecture" The work was chiefly valuable for its illustrations, of which many have now been superseded by photographs. Kittoe's antiquarian zeal and architectural knowledge were strong recommendations to James Prinsep, who induced him to pay a visit to the Khandagiri rock to examine the inscription in old Pali characters, of which Stirling had published a poor and imperfect copy in the Asiatic Researches. The result was an excellent copy of a very important inscription of King Aira, and the discovery of one of Asoka's edicts at Dhauli, with sketches of the more important caves and principal sculptures.

Kittoe's services were warmly acknowledged by James Prinsep in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, and also in a letter to me of 4th November 1837, in which he mentions "a beautifully illustrated journal from poor Kittoe," and begs me to "keep an eye to his interests, for he would be an invaluable antiquarian traveller." At this time Kittoe was temporarily removed from the army for bringing indiscreet charges of oppression against his Commanding Officer, for which there was but little foundation save in his own over-sensitive disposition. Through Prinsep's influence he was appointed Secretary of the Coal Committee, which led to his extended tour through Orissa, the results of which were published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1838 and 1839. He was afterwards restored to his position in the army, and appointed to the charge of one of the Divisions of the High Road from Calcutta to Bombay, leading through Chutia Nâgpur.

For several years he was employed in the uncongenial work of a Road Officer, and it was not until 1846 that he had the opportunity of returning to his archæological researches. In doing so he felt that he was partly carrying out the wishes of James Prinsep, "who oft expressed a wish that he should ramble over the district of Bihâr, and cater for him."* During 1846 and 1847, he accordingly travelled over a great part of the districts of Bihâr and Shâhâbâd, and added much valuable information to our knowledge of

* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1847, p. 273

their antiquities. But his chief aim seems to have been to make a large collection of drawings of choice specimens of sculpture with a view to future publication. In following out this plan much of his valuable time was wasted in making drawings of sculptures and architectural ornaments of many of which photography has since given us finer and even more detailed copies. But no less praise is due to him for the unwearied industry and patience with which he performed his self appointed task, the results of which now form a valuable collection of about one hundred and fifty drawings belonging to the library of the East India Museum.

About this time, through the influence of Mr Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces, Kittoe was appointed "Archæological Enquirer" to Government, on a salary of Rs 250 a month. Whilst engaged on this work he was requested to prepare a design for the proposed Sanskrit College at Banâras. His design was approved, and, when the building was fairly begun, Kittoe was obliged to reside altogether at Banâras to superintend its construction. With this work he was fully occupied during the remainder of his career his only archæological researches being some rather extensive excavations at Sârnâth, where he uncovered a complete monastery, and added considerably to his collection of sculpture drawings. The work at the College was severe as he had to model most of the mouldings with his own hands. On the 19th May 1852, he wrote to me "Oh how I wish the College were out of hand, that I might set to work and compile my drawings and papers into some shape." When I saw Kittoe at Gwalior in September 1852, he spoke despondingly of himself. His health was evidently much impaired, and he complained of headache and want of appetite.

He was sick of the drudgery of the college work, and in the beginning of 1853 his health completely broke down, and he was compelled to seek for change of air in England. On the 2nd of February he gave a lecture in Calcutta before the Asiatic Society on the antiquities of Sârnâth, and exhibited to the meeting his collection of sculpture drawings. The voyage to England did him no good, and on his arrival he was so ill that he saw no one and, as one of his friends informed me, 'he went straight to his home and died' in

June 1853. Like Prinsep he sank from overwork, and at about the same age.

As a draughtsman Kittoe was painstaking and accurate, and therefore always trustworthy; as an explorer, he was enthusiastic and indefatigable, qualities which generally command success; but as an investigator, he was wanting in scholarship and faulty in judgment. As specimens of his defective judgment, I may cite his continued doubts as to the identity of Asoka and Piyadasi, and his serious suggestion that the Barâbar Cave inscription of Dasaratha, which Prinsep had truly assigned to the historical Dasaratha of Magadha, one of the immediate successors of Asoka, might probably be referred to the half fabulous Dasaratha of Ayodhya, the father of Râma

Kittoe's chief discoveries were limited to temples, sculptures and inscriptions, and I cannot recal a single locality which he identified, or a single historical doubt which he settled, or a single name of any dynasty which he established. His discoveries were the result of unwearying exploration, and not the fruit of mental reasoning and reflective deduction. Such also, when his career was drawing to a close, was his own modest estimate of himself. On the 19th May 1852 he wrote to me: "Let me not lead you to suppose that I claim knowledge. I am woefully deficient. I am a self-educated man, and no Classic or Sanskrit scholar; I merely claim a searching eye and mind, and a retentive memory of figure and fact, and place or position. Hence my great success in finding inscriptions where many have searched in vain!—Cut tack and Gya to wit" This estimate of himself seems fully to justify my opinion of him, while at the same time it corroborates the prophetic judgment of James Prinsep that Kittoe would make "an invaluable antiquarian traveller."

The principal subject which has engaged the attention of Mr. EDWARD THOMAS is the History of India as illustrated by its coins and inscriptions, and other monuments. His numerous essays, range over the long period of eighteen hundred years, from the establishment of the Bactrian monarchy in B. C. 246 to the final extinction of the Pathân empire of Delhi on the accession of Akbar in A. D. 1554. The following list of his principal essays shews the extent

and variety of the contribution which he has made to Indian archæology during the past twenty years

1 1848—Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol IX,—Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kabul

2 1848—Ditto ditto, Vol IX,—Coins of the Kings of Ghazni

3 1850—Ditto ditto, Vol XII,—Coins of the Sah Kings of Saurashtra

4 1855—Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol XXIV,—On the Epoch of the Gupta Dynasty

5 1855—Ditto ditto, Vol XXIV,—On the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty

6 1855—Ditto ditto, Vol XXIV,—On ancient Indian Numerals

7 1858—Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, 2 Vols, thick 8vo, with numerous plates of coins, and many able independent notices, bringing the state of knowledge in each branch up to the date of publication

8 1860—Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol XVII,—Supplementary Notice of the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni

9 1864—Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol XXXIV,—On ancient Indian Weights (continued in the same journal for 1835)

10 1865—Ditto ditto, Vol XXXV,—On the identity of Xandrames and Krananda.

11 1866—Ditto ditto, Vol XXXVI,—The Initial Coinage of Bengal

12 1871—Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Delhi

On all these different periods and subjects Mr Thomas has thrown a flood of light by his accurate observations and critical sagacity. But his principal researches have been directed to the Muhammadan History of India, and more especially to the two periods of the Ghaznvide and Pathân dynasties. Here he has had the field entirely to himself, and to his critical sifting of evidence and noteworthy accuracy we are mainly indebted for the clear and satisfactory settlement of the chronology of the Muhammadan kingdoms of Ghazni and Delhi. He has also initiated the same accurate arrangement of the chronology of the

Pathân kingdom of Bengal, which will eventually be completed as more coins and inscriptions are brought to light and made available.

The greater number of Mr. Thomas's essays have been confessedly limited to the almost technical description and illustration of various important series of oriental coins. But in his notes and independent articles, inserted in his edition of Prinsep's Essays, and more particularly in his last production,—the "Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Delhi,"—he has made good use of all accessible inscriptions, and of numerous passages of historians and geographers, which bear upon his subject. His "leading object," as he himself states, "has been to collect materials for history, in the form of documents, which it was primarily desirable to retain in their most authentic form." This object he has accomplished in the most complete and satisfactory manner; and the future historian of Muhammadan India will be saved much of the weary and vexatious trouble of weighing the respective values of conflicting evidence, and of balancing the probabilities of opposing dates. All this laborious work has been well and carefully done by Mr. Thomas, whose critical sifting of evidence, and able scrutiny of all available information, have effectually winnowed most of the chaff of doubt and dispute, and left little but the true grains behind.

In Madras SIR WALTER ELLIOT completed what Colonel Mackenzie had left undone. Mackenzie's great collection of 8,076 inscriptions was made chiefly in the Tâmilian provinces to the south of the Krishna River, while Sir Walter's collection of 595 inscriptions was formed principally in the ancient Karnâta country, amongst the upper branches of the Krishna. His first contribution to Indian archæology was a very valuable and interesting historical sketch,* founded solely on the inscriptions of the principal dynasties which had ruled over the countries between the Nerbada and the Krishna for nearly eight centuries. Of these the great Châlukya family was the oldest, the strongest, and the most lasting; and its line has since been traced back to the early part of the fourth century by the discovery of other inscriptions. Its career probably began in A. D. 318. For the

* In Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, IV, for 1836, and re-printed with corrections in the Madras Literary Journal, Vol. VII, p. 190.

early history of the northern half of the peninsula, this invaluable essay is our principal, and indeed almost our only, guide

Sir Walter has also illustrated the history of the Chālukyas and other southern dynasties by their coins, which he was the first to arrange systematically. He thus obtained their trustworthy evidence in support of the more extensive data supplied by the inscriptions. All previous enquiries had been contented to arrange the coins according to their devices, without regard to their age, or to the localities in which they were usually found. Thus, all the coins bearing the type of an elephant were assigned to the *Gajapati* dynasty, which was asserted to have reigned over Orissa, all those with a horse to the *Asvapati* dynasty, those with the figure of a man to the *Narapati* dynasty, and those with an umbrella to the *Chhatrapati* dynasty. These are currently believed to have been the titles of four tributary princes who held the four chief provinces of Southern India under the rule of the one supreme sovereign of Delhi. The single omission of the boar of the Chālukyas is fatal to this neatly-contrived scheme.

In Western India Colonel MEADOWS TAYLOR has chiefly confined his attention to the mysterious cromlechs and cairns, and stone circles, of which he himself made numerous and important discoveries in the Shorapur District*. The origin of these monuments is at present unknown. Colonel Taylor calls them pre-historic remains, and attributes them to the great Turanian or Scythian race which occupied Southern India before the immigration of the Aryas. "Certain it is," he remarks, "that in the purely Aryan and Northern Provinces of India, no such structures have been found"†. But this is a mistake, as they have already been found in the hilly parts of the districts of Delhi, Mirzapur, and Orissa, and I conclude that they will hereafter be discovered in many other parts of Northern India. I am inclined also to doubt that these monuments were peculiar to the Turanian races, for I look upon the stone colonnade that surrounds the great Sanchi stupa as only an improved version of the rude stone circle enclosing an earthen

* See his able account of this interesting subject in the *Journal of the Ethnological Society* Vol. I., p. 157. On the Pre-historic Archaeology of India.

† "Student's Manual of the History of India," p. 40

tumulus; and as the Sanchi monument is an undoubted Aryan structure, the probabilities seem to be rather in favour of the Aryan origin of its prototype, than that the Aryas borrowed the design from the earlier Turanian settlers. This however is, at present, a matter of opinion which will probably be settled by further researches. In the meantime the public is deeply indebted to Colonel Taylor for the very full and accurate details which he has given of the early stone monuments of Southern India.

In his Student's Manual of Indian History, Colonel Taylor has assigned the building of the second tope at Sanchi to Pushpamitra, the first of the Sunga dynasty of Magadha, whom he affirms to have been Buddhists, and "famous for their religious zeal in the construction of religious edifices and excavation of cave temples." Now, this is certainly a mistake, as Pushpamitra was a noted persecutor of the Buddhists, and is recorded to have offered a reward of one hundred dinars for the head of every Srâmana†. As Colonel Taylor rarely quotes authorities, it is impossible to trace the source of this error. I can only conjecture that it is founded on a misreading by Dr. Stevenson of one of the cave inscriptions, which will be presently noticed, in which he identifies a petty Buddhist chief, *Nâyak*, named Agnimitra, with the great Sunga King of Magadha, who would certainly appear to have been a Brâhmanist, as well as his father, Pushpamitra.‡

To the REVEREND J. STEVENSON, D. D., we owe the only series of translations that have yet appeared of the numerous inscriptions in the caves of Western India. These were published in 1857* from copies of the inscriptions prepared by Lieutenant Brett, which, though carefully and laboriously made, are deficient in many places, and are not sufficiently accurate in others to be fully relied upon. For these reasons several passages, and even a few whole inscriptions, were left untranslated by Dr. Stevenson, whilst others were insufficiently or incorrectly rendered by him. New and much more accurate copies of the inscriptions in the Kânhari and Nâsik caves have since been published by Mr West, but even

* Student's Manual of Indian History, page 54.

† Burnouf "Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien," page 431

‡ See the drama of *Mâlaviâgnimitra* in Wilson's Hindu Theatre

these are only hand copies, carefully reduced, it is true, by squares, but still only hand copies, and not *fac-similes* or impressions. I have myself visited both of these places, and I can state that I have not seen any inscriptions that would yield better impressions than the great Satrap and Andhra records of the Nâsik caves. The most beautiful and perfectly accurate impressions or rubbings of these precious records might have been made by Mr West in one tenth of the time which was occupied in making his much less trustworthy hand reductions.

Taking Dr Stevenson's translations altogether, there is no doubt that he has succeeded in giving the general scope of all the more important inscriptions, and has thereby added a very valuable amount of authentic information to the scanty records of early Indian history. With some of the shorter inscriptions he has been less successful; for instance, he has taken *Dâmilâya* as a masculine name, and identified *Dâmilâ* with the famous Chânakya, the minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya, thus ignoring, not only the feminine possessive termination in *aya*, but also the preceding feminine word *Bhikkhuniya*, or "mendicant nun," the inscription, in fact, being the simple record of a gift of the female mendicant *Dâmilâ**. In a second short inscription by reading *Maharavisa*, "of the emperor," instead of *Maharathusa*, "of Maharashtra," he identifies the *Nâyak*, or "petty chief," Agnimitra of Mahârâshtra with the great King Agnimitra of Magadha, the son of Pushpamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty†. Again, in his anxiety to obtain some name that would help to fix the dates of these inscriptions he has identified *Sakara* with Vikramâditya by reading *Sakâra*, where the preceding names of Nabhâga, Nahusha, and Janamejaya, as well as the following name of Yayati, should have shown him that the solar hero *Sagara* was the person really intended‡.

* Historical names and facts contained in the Kânharî inscriptions.—Bombay Journal, V., page 29. No. 14, Inscription from Kânharî.

† Sahyâdrî inscriptions.—Bombay Journal V., page 152, No. 1. Inscription from Karle.

‡ On the Nâsik cave inscriptions (Bombay Journal, V., page 43, No. 1. Inscription) Dr Bhanu Ujji has adopted this erroneous identification of Vikramâditya in his Essay on Kâlidâsa. I pointed out Dr Stevenson's error to Mr Fergusson, but he refers to it as if a Vikramâditya was mentioned by name.—See his Essay on Indian Chronology page 6., note 1 (The Vikramâditya mentioned in Gotamiputra's inscription is evidently from the company in which he is named, of pre-historic antiquity). Mr Fergusson must have remembered imperfectly what I told him, for there is no mention whatever of any Vikramâditya in Gotamiputra's Nâsik inscription.

To Dr. Stevenson we owe the first real progress that was achieved since Prinsep, in reading the numerical figures of these old inscriptions. But he contented himself with noting the more obvious cyphers, and hastily adopted values for others, which in one case led him to make the curious blunder of assigning thirty-two days to a fortnight. This happened from reading the letter *y* as the figure for 30, by which he changed "*batiya 2*" into "*batu 32*."

Dr. Stevenson also published several papers on the early religion of the Hindus of Southern India,† and a single paper on the *Tithyas* or *Tirthakas* of the Buddhists, whom he identifies with the Gymnosophists of the Greeks, and with the *Digambara* sect of Jains.‡ These papers show much patient research and accurate observation in a new and interesting field of inquiry, and lead us to regret that Dr. Stevenson should have been cut off in the very midst of his career, just when his judgment had become mature, and promised to guide his acknowledged scholarship to useful results.

Since Stevenson's death the study of archæology in Western India has been taken up ably and enthusiastically by a Native gentleman, DR. BHĀU DĀJI, whose contributions to the *Bombay Journal* have thrown much light on the early history of the northern half of the peninsula. As a scholar he very early earned the thanks of all students of Indian literature and history by his essay on the Poet Kālidāsa, and by his translations of the inscriptions in the Ajanta Caves, and of the inscriptions of Rudra Dāma and Skanda Gupta at Junagarh.§ His reputation has since been amply maintained by his interesting and valuable notice of the "Inroads of the Scythians into India,"|| and by his discovery of the values of several of the unknown early numerals which had puzzled Dr. Stevenson.¶

* See *Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society*, Vol. V., No. 18, inscription from Karle, line 3

† *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, V, pp. 189, 264, and VI, 239, "On the ante-Brahmanical worship of the Hindus of the Dakhan," ditto, VII, 1, "On the intermixture of Buddhism with Brahmanism in the religion of the Hindus of the Dakhan," ditto, VII, 64, "On the Buddha-Vaishnavas of the Dakhan"

‡ *Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal*, Vol. V

§ *Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal*, VI, published in 1867, "On the Sanskrit Poet Kālidāsa," ditto, VII, "Ajanta Inscriptions," and "Translations of the Rudra Dāma and Skanda Gupta Inscriptions at Junagarh."

|| Ditto, IX., p. 139, "The Inroads of the Scythians into India."

¶ Ditto, VIII, p. 225, "The Ancient Sanskrit Numerals in the Cave Inscriptions, and on the Sah Coins"

But Dr Bhau Dâji's judgment has not kept pace with his scholarship, and he has consequently been led to the publication of several very grave errors. He thus rashly announces his condemnation of Dr Mill's translation of part of the Bhutari Inscription. "I may now warn writers on Indian antiquities against implicitly receiving as correct the names given by Dr Mill of the female connexions of the Guptas, namely, *Lichchhavi* and *Kumâri Devi*."* I am happily in a position to settle this point by proving the absolute accuracy of Dr Mill's translation, by referring Dr Bhau Dâji to the gold coins of Chandra Gupta bearing two figures, male and female, on the obverse, and a female seated on a lion on the reverse. These precious coins would almost seem to have been designed by Chandra Gupta's mint master for the special purpose of refuting Dr Bhau Dâji's assertion, by labelling the two figures on the obverse as "*Chandra Gupta*" and "*Kumâri Devi*," and by adding the name of *Lichchhavayah* on the reverse †

In another place he has seriously proposed the alteration of the Chinese chronology of the pilgrim Hwen Thsang by sixty years to suit the date of Jayendra of Kashmir, simply because Hwen Thsang mentions that, on his arrival at the capital of Kashmir, he was lodged in the *Jayendra Vihâra*. But surely one may sleep in a palace of Akbar without becoming a contemporary of that great Mogul. If not, then Hwen Thsang's date is hopelessly dubious, for he had already lodged in the *Hushkara Vihâra* opposite Varâhamûla, and must, therefore, have been a contemporary of the Indo-Scythian prince *Hushka* or *Huvishka*, at the latter end of the first century before Christ.

I pass over some wild identifications proposed in Dr Bhau Dâji's "Brief Survey of Indian Chronology," to note the curious error in what he calls a *correct* genealogical table of the Balabhi Kings supported by dates from copper plates. In this genealogy I notice that Dhruva Senna, who is dated in 310, is followed by *six* generations, all of which are made to pass away by 346, so that *seven generations*, including Dhruva

* Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, VII, p. 216

† I possess two of these coins with the legends quite legible. The names of the King and Queen are written perpendicularly. The reverse legend has hitherto been erroneously read as *Pa ch Chakrayak*.

Sena, or six without him, are born, marry, and die in 36 years, which allows exactly six years to each generation.*

His last proposal is to read *cha Gilika rājena* in the Khālsi version of the famous passage in Asoka's edicts, which gives the names of the four Kings,—Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander,—thus making *Gilika* a Pali form of the Latin *Græci*. But this name was not applied to the *Hellènes* until long after Asoka's time, and could not properly have been applied to the Macedonians at any time. Dr. Bhau Dâji says—"I take this opportunity of announcing that the word *Kilakila*, or *Kailakila*, *Yavanas*, which puzzled me before, is only a corruption, or rather a mislection of *Gilika* or Greek."† As I furnished Dr. Bhau Dâji with his copy of this portion of the Khālsi inscription, I am quite familiar with the words which he has thus strangely perverted. I read them as *chatul*, 4, *rajena*, "the four, 4, Kings," taking the character, which he has made a 7, to be the numerical symbol for 4, a mere repetition of the written word *chatuli*. The same repetition is found also in the Ariano Pali version of Kapurdigiri, where the word *chatur* is followed by four upright strokes *IIII*, like the well known Roman numeral, which cannot possibly mean anything else but the simple number 4.

But in spite of these errors due to hasty opinions and rash speculations, which will no doubt be modified hereafter by more mature judgment, I feel that Dr. Bhau Dâji is a worthy successor of Dr. Stevenson, and that he has well sustained the cause of Indian archæology in the Bombay Presidency.

Of my own share in the progress of Indian archæology I may be permitted to give a brief statement of what I have written, and of the discoveries which I have been able to make during a long and active career in India. The following is a list of my writings on my Indian antiquities:

1.—1840—Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, IX., p. 867—Description of some new Bactrian coins.

* Bombay Journal, VIII, p. 236, "Brief Survey of Indian Chronology,"—Genealogy of Balabhi Kings, p. 245

† Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, IX, p. CXXIV. I note that both Dr. Bhau Dâji and Babu Rajendra Lal use the barbarous word "mislection." I believe that the *Kilakila* *Yavanas* are not mentioned until after the Andhras, that is, not until several centuries after the total extinction of the Greek power in North-West India and the Panjâb. They were probably either Indo-Scythians, or Parthians.

2—1842—Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XI, p 130—Second notice of some new Bactrian coins

3—1843—Royal Asiatic Society's Journal—Account of the discovery of the ruins of the Buddhist city of Sankisa.

4.—1843—Numismatic Chronicle—The ancient coinage of Kashmir

5—1843—Numismatic Chronicle—Attempt to explain some of the monograms on the Greek coins of Ariana and India

6—1845—Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XIV, p 480—Notice of some unpublished coins of the Indo-Scythians

7—1854—The Bhilsa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India, 8vo

8—1854—Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXIII.—Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps with Greek inscriptions

9—1863—Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXXII—Translation of the Bactro-Pali inscription from Taxila.

10—1865—Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXXIV—Coins of the nine Nâgas, and of two other dynasties of Narwar and Gwalior

11—1867—Numismatic Chronicle—Coin of the Indian Prince Sophytes, a contemporary of Alexander the Great

12—1868-1869 1870—Numismatic Chronicle—"Coins of Alexander's successors in the East," Part I., the Greeks of Bactriana, Ariana, and India

13—1870—The ancient Geography of India, Vol. I, the Buddhist period, 8vo

In my account of James Prinsep's final labour, I have been able to show from his letters that the anxiety which he publicly expressed to obtain more specimens of the latter coins, "which mark the decadence of Greek dominion and Greek skill," and of "those coins on which the Native and Greek legends differ, or record different names," continued down to the last, when in October 1838 he was compelled by ill health to give up work and to seek for change of air in England. This subject I was able to follow up in 1840, when the acquisition of a large number of coins from Afghanistan put me in possession of new specimens of Gondophares and Abdagases, which I published in the Journal of

the Asiatic Society for that year. Several collectors then placed their cabinets at my disposal; and with the purchase of a second collection from Kandahâr and Sistân, I was able to prepare during the years 1840-41-42 no less than fifteen lithographed plates of all the known coins of the Greek and Indo-Scythian Kings of Bactriana, Ariana, and India.

While this work was in progress, I published, in 1842, a second notice of new Bactrian coins, in which I first made known the names of the Greek Kings Straton, Telephus, Hipposstratus, Nikias, and Dyonysius, of the Greek Queen Kalliope, and of the Scytho-Parthian Kings Arsakes and Pakores. In these two papers I gave the true symbols of the Arian letters *d*, *g*, and *ph*, from the Native legends of the coins of Gondophares, Abdagases, and Telephus, and the true symbol for the compound letter *st* from the coins of Straton and Hipposstratus. These discoveries were followed up by finding the title of *Strategasa*, for the Greek *Stratêgos* or General, on the coins of the Aspa Varmma, which bear the name of the great King Azas on the obverse, and that of his Hindu General on the reverse. "These," as Prinsep truly said, "are the most precious to the student of Indian history," for they prove that the military discipline of the Greeks was still in use nearly half a century after their dominion had passed away.

At the same time I found that the reverse legends of the coins of Queen Agathokhia, which had puzzled Prinsep and Lassen, contained only the titles and name of Straton, who must, therefore, have been her husband. Continuing my discoveries, I obtained the true value of the Arian *bh* from the words *bhrâta-putrasa*, or "brother's son," which, on the coins of Abdagases are the equivalent of the Greek *Adelphideôs*. Following up this clue I next discovered the symbol for *gh* on the coins of the Native King *Amogha-bhuti*.

About the same time I assigned one of Prinsep's series of imitations of the Indo-Scythian money to its proper country Kashmir, by identifying the coins of no less than eighteen of the Hindu Rajas, from Toramâna to Jaga Deva, who ruled from about A. D. 500 to 1200. This discovery was published in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1843. A few years later, in 1847, I was able to assign another series of some

extent, but of later date and of less interest, to the Hindu Rajas of Kangra.

In 1845, in a notice of some new coins of the Indo Scythians, I first published the reading of the name of the great *Kushân* tribe of Indo-Scythians on the coins of Kujula, and in the *Mānikyāla* inscription of General Court. At the same time I added a genuine Buddhist type to the known coins of Kanishka.

In January and February 1851, Lieutenant Maisey and myself explored a large number of Buddhist stupas, or topes, in the Bhilsa District. In the same year I submitted a short account of our discoveries to H. H. Wilson, which he published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. At the same time I prepared a detailed account of all the stupas that we explored, with translations of several hundred short inscriptions. This work, which was completed in 1851, was not published until 1854, under the title of "*The Bhilsa Topes*". Twenty years have since passed, many of them years of rare experience in archæological investigation, and I see no reason to alter the dates which I then proposed of the third century B. C., for the erection of all the principal topes, and of the first century A. D. for the sculptured gateways of the great stupa.

These dates have been generally accepted, in fact, I am not aware that they have been disputed by any one save H. H. Wilson*. His arguments I will now examine at length, as it seems to me to be very important that there should be no doubt as to the age of these remarkable monuments, whose sculptures are so valuable for the illustration of Indian art. In justice also to myself I think it is absolutely necessary that I should take notice of the objections which have been publicly brought forward in a lecture on Buddha and Buddhism, by so eminent an oriental scholar as Horace Hayman Wilson.

He begins by stating that I make the age of the great Bhilsa tope as old as Asoka, "its being as old as Asoka, depending upon the identification of Gotiputra, the teacher of Mogaliputra, who presided, it is said, at the third council

* *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, Vol. XVI. "On Buddha and Buddhism," by H. H. Wilson, pp. 250-251.

in B. C. 241, a statement altogether erroneous, as Mogaliputra, Maudgala, or Maudgalâyana, was one of Sâkya's first disciples three centuries earlier." In this passage it is Wilson's own statement that is "altogether erroneous," and not mine; and I now repeat my former assertion that Mogaliputra *did* preside at the Buddhist synod held in the reign of Asoka. The mistake which Wilson has here made is a strange one for an oriental scholar, as he not only ignores the detailed history of this council given in the Mahawanso,* but stranger still he confounds Mogalâna or Maudgalyâyana, the disciple of Buddha, with one of his descendants, for Mogaliputra bears the same relation to Mogali that Will's-son, or Wilson, does to Will.

A little further on he falls into another error, equally great, and almost as strange as that just noticed. He objects to the date of the Bhilsa topes, which I had inferred from the inscriptions on the relic caskets, because "no legitimate conclusions can be drawn from inscriptions of this class as to the date of the Sânci monuments," as the presence of relics in any monument is no more a proof of its antiquity, than would the hairs of Buddha, if ever dug up, prove the Shwê-Dagon of Rangoon to have been built in his day." Here the professor has entirely lost sight of the one great fact on which I relied, that the inscriptions on the caskets are *engraved in characters of Asoka's age*. On this fact alone I argued that the stupas which contained these relic caskets must be as old as the reign of Asoka. Having ignored this fact altogether and tilted against an argument which I never used, he then proceeds to say that the topes of Ceylon "*appear to be* of an earlier date, if we may credit the tradition which ascribes the erection of the Ruanvelli mound at Anurâdhapura to King Dutthagâmini, who reigned 161 B. C. to 137 B. C." So that, in the opinion of one of the most eminent Sanskrit scholars, a tradition is of more historical value than a self-evident fact, the truth of which has been admitted by every one except Wilson himself.

Having thus settled to his own satisfaction that the topes of Ceylon, which could not have been built before the

* It seems almost superfluous to refer to the Mahawanso for a fact which is so well known, but as Wilson has publicly asserted that Mogaliputra was a disciple of Buddha himself, and has branded my statement as "altogether erroneous," I refer the reader to the 3rd Chapter of Turnour's Mahawanso for the proceedings of the First Buddhist Synod under Mahakassapo, to the 4th Chapter for the Second Synod, and to the 5th Chapter for the Third Synod, held during the reign of Asoka, under the guidance of Mogaliputra.

conversion of the Ceylonese to Buddhism by Mahindo, the son of Asoka, are older than the great Sānchi stupa, which, as I have pointed out in my Bhilsa topes, almost certainly gave its name to the hill of *Chetuyagiri* which was known by that name before the birth of Mahindo, Wilson continues his remarks as follows "A somewhat *earlier* period than that of the Indian stupas may be assigned to another important class of Buddhist monuments, the cave temples belonging to that persuasion, but they also, as far as has been yet ascertained, are subsequent to Christianity" Thus, according to Wilson, the cave temples of Western India, in which not a single inscription of Asoka's period has yet been found, are older than the Sānchi stupa, the railings of which are literally covered with inscriptions of Asoka's age

But although the points to which Wilson so strangely took exception are not inaccurate, there are in my Bhilsa topes several undoubted errors, of which, perhaps, the worst is my making the five Kings of Magadha, whose names are mentioned by Hwen Tshang, form a continuation of the great Gupta dynasty Their true period would appear to have been seven hundred years prior to Hwen Tshang's visit, or about 66 B C Accordingly I look upon these five Kings as the immediate successors of the Sunga dynasty in Magadha, and the predecessors of the Guptas, while the Kanva Kings of the Purānas were their contemporaries in North Western India Following out this view, I now place the building of the great temple at Bodhi Gaya in the first century B C

In the same year, 1854, I published a notice of the "Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps with Greek inscriptions," in which I made known the symbols for the Arian letters *oh* and *ohh* and *rm*,* and applied the discovery of the former to prove the Buddhist faith of the Scythian King Kozola Kadaphes, who calls himself on his coins *Saohha dharmā thidasa*, the "supporter of the true dharma."† Here, again, I was met by the adverse and erroneous criticism of Wilson,‡ who

Oh is found in *apatti-chakra*, "Invincible with the discus," *ohh* in *chhatrapa* or Satrap, and *rm* in the two Hindu names, *Aspavarmma* and *Indra Varmma*.

† I have adopted the reading of *thidasa* from Professor Dowson, in lieu of *pidasa*, which was my original rendering.

‡ London Athenæum, 16th March 1856.

objected that "the legends of these coins had not been satisfactorily read : and he especially objected to the reading of the word *Aśatrapasa* or Satrap, the letters of which were very doubtful, and no other evidence being found to prove that this title had ever been borne by a Hindu prince." The statement that no other evidence had been found is strangely incorrect, as Prinsep had found the title in the Ginnar bridge inscription of Rudra Dâma, a Hindu prince, and Wilson's own translation of this inscription, afterwards furnished to Mr Thomas,* contains the title of *Mahakshatrapa* applied to Rudra Dâma. The Satraps whose coins I brought to notice in this paper were Zerionises or Jihoniya, and Raziobales or Rajubul; and I may add of the legends of their coins, which Wilson declared "had not been satisfactorily read," that every single letter was rightly assigned.

In the same paper I first made known the names of the Seytho-Parthian Kings Orthagnes and Sasi, or Sasan, both of whom claim on their coins to be connexions of the great King Gondophares. I also added my mite towards the identification of Chandra Gupta Maurya with Sandrakoptos by bringing to notice a fragment of Euphorion, the librarian of Antiochus the Great, which makes "the Indian Môrias live in wooden houses," and the statement of Plesychins that "the Môrias were Indian Kings."

In November 1861 I began my explorations as Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India, and the results of my four years' work form the subject of the present volumes, in which are recorded the discovery of many ancient cities, of which the most famous are Taxila and Sangala in the Panjâb, Srughna, Ahichhatra, Kosâmbi, and Siâvasti in the north-west, and Nâlanda in the east.

In 1862 I discovered the names of the Macedonian months, *Artemisios* and *Apellaïos*, in two of the Ariano Pali inscriptions from Afghanistan. This discovery was also made independently by Professor Dowson, and, although objected to by Bâbu Râjendra Lâl, it has since been fully confirmed by the further discovery of the names of *Panemos* and *Daisios* in other inscriptions. The name of Panemos occurs in the well known Taxila inscription of the Satrap

* Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, II, 68

Isako Kuyulako, dated in the 78th year of the great King *Moga*, whom I identified with the *Moas* of the coins, a conclusion which is now generally accepted. I also published a partial translation of this inscription, in which I made known the values of the Arian compounds of the letter *r* in the words *purva*, *sarva*, and *āchārya*, which were at the same time independently made out in England by Professor Dowson.

In a note on the same inscription, published shortly afterwards in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I gave the true values of the old Indian cyphers for 40, 50, 60, and 70, of which three had not previously been ascertained by Dr Bhau Dāji in his paper published in the same journal.

In 1865 appeared my essay on the "Coins of the Nine Nāgas, and of two other dynasties of Narwar and Gwahor." The coins of the Naga Kings are of considerable importance as they are certainly as old as those of the Gupta dynasty, and comprise as many names. The coins of Pasupati are valuable, as their date is almost certain, Pasupati being the son of Toramāna, who ruled over the countries between the Jumna and the Narbada towards the end of the third century A. D. The latest series of coins are also interesting as they are dated and include one Hindu Prince Chāhara Deva, who for a long time was the successful opponent of the early Muhammadan Kings of Delhi. In the same paper I successfully identified Narwar with the city of Padmāvati of the poet Bhavabhūti, by the names of no less than four streams in its immediate vicinity which are mentioned in the drama of Mālati and Mādhava.

During my stay in England from 1866 to 1870, I published first an account of the "Coin of a Indian Prince Sophytes, a contemporary of Alexander," preparatory to a long-contemplated work on the "Coins of Alexander's successors in the East," of which the first part, relating to the Greeks of Bactria, Ariana, and India, is now nearly complete, nine out of ten portions having already appeared in the Numismatic Chronicle. In this work I have added coins of the new Kings Artemidorus, Epander, Theophilus, Apollonphanes, and Straton II. Altogether there are described the coins of no less than thirty Kings with pure Greek names, of

whom only seven are mentioned in history. As the coins of several of these princes are found in considerable numbers in the Panjâb and North-Western India, there can be little doubt that their conquests extended far into India, as stated by several Greek writers, and as admitted in a few passages of Sanskrit writers, which have only lately been made accessible. The history of the Eastern Greeks is, therefore, intimately connected with that of India for more than a century after the time of Asoka, when their dominions passed to the Indo-Scythians, whose occupation of Northern India, though equally certain, is barely acknowledged by Hindu writers.

Of my last work, "The Ancient Geography of India," which appeared at the close of 1870, I will say no more than that it is chiefly devoted to the illustration of the campaigns of Alexander and of the pilgrimage of Hwen Thsang.

In closing this review of the progress of Indian archæology, in which the chief share has been achieved by men who were not professed scholars, I beg it to be distinctly understood that we field archæologists make no claim to more than ordinary scholarship, and that if we have been successful in many of our archæological researches, we can truly ascribe our success in great measure to the hitherto difficult path having been smoothed by the labours of our great Sanskrit scholars, whose translations have placed within our reach nearly all the chief works of Indian learning. If we have sometimes been able to perceive what had escaped the notice of our more learned contemporaries, it has been owing to the lift that we have got from them; for, as the old scholiast says, *Pygmæi gigantum humeros, &c.*, "even pygmies on the shoulders of giants can see farther than the giants themselves."

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT.

Report of operations of the Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India, during Season 1861-62

IN the explorations which I have carried out during the past season, I have adhered strictly to the plan of proceedings sketched in the memorandum which I submitted to the Governor General in November 1861. I began work in December at Gaya; and after exploring all the places of antiquarian interest in Bihâr, Tirhut, and Champâran, I visited several ancient sites in Gorakhpur, Azimgarh, and Jonpur, on my way to Banâras, where, on the 3rd April, I closed work for the season. I will now give a brief sketch of my operations at the different places in the order in which I visited them:

I G A Y A

There are two places of the name of Gaya, one of which is called *Buddha-Gaya*, or *Buddhistical Gaya*, to distinguish it from the city of Gaya, which is situated six miles to the northward. In Gaya itself there are no ancient buildings now existing; but most of the present temples have been erected on former sites and with old materials. Statues, both *Buddhistical* and *Brahmanical*, are found in all parts of the old city, and more especially about the temples, where they are fixed in the walls, or in small recesses forming separate shrines in the court-yards of the larger temples. I have noted the names and localities of all these statues.

The inscriptions at Gaya are numerous; but, owing to the destruction of the ancient temples, there are but few of them in situ, or attached to the objects which they were originally designed to commemorate. I have taken copies of all the inscriptions, of which the most interesting is a long and perfect one, dated in the era of the *Nirvân*, or death of Buddha. I read the date as follows:

Bhagavati parinirvritte samvat 1819 Karttike badh 1 Budhe,

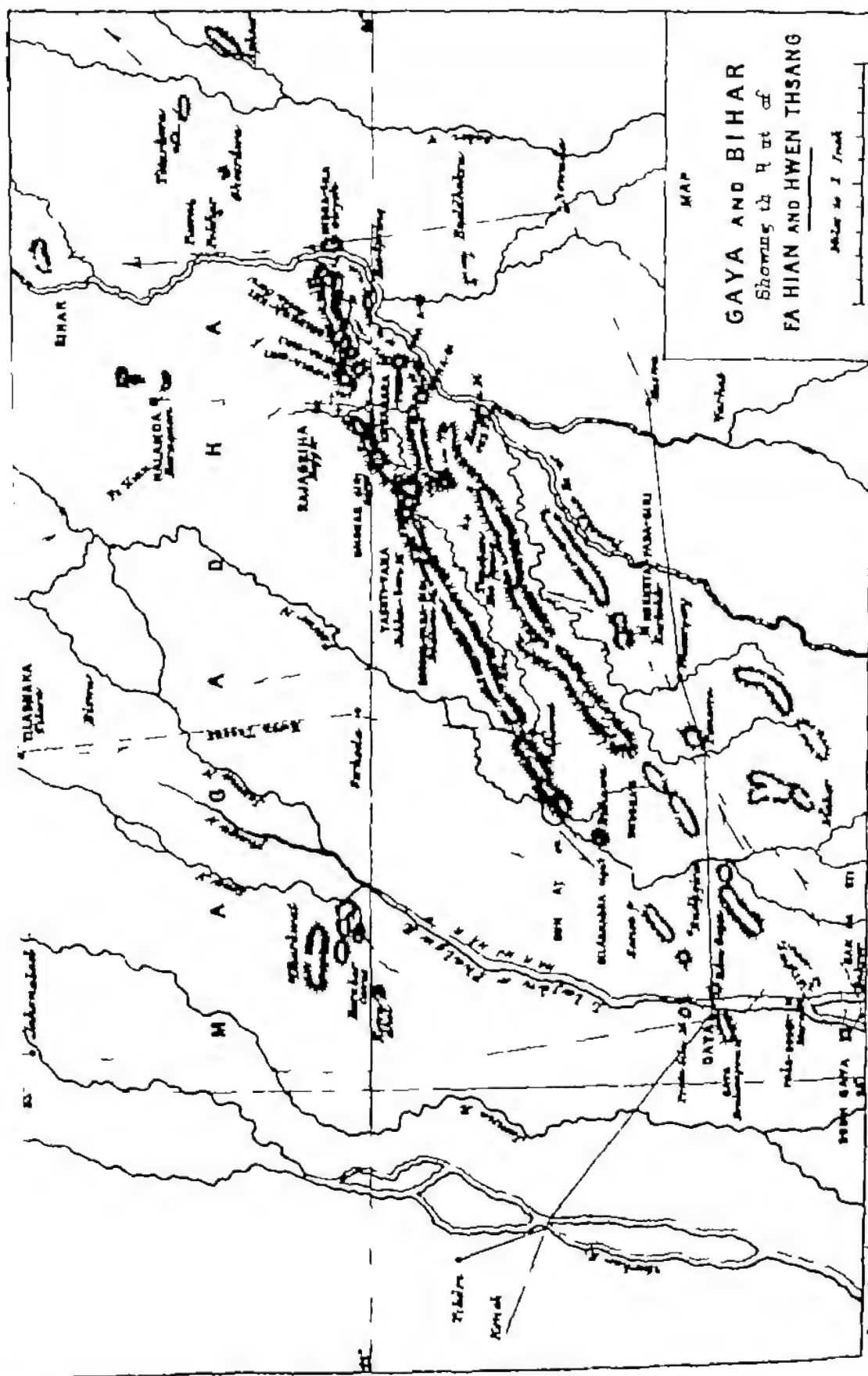
that is, "in the year 1819 of the emancipation of Bhagavata, on Wednesday, the first day of the waning moon of Kartik"

If the era here used is the same as that of the Buddhists of Ceylon and Burmah, which began in 543 B C, the date of this inscription will be $1819 - 543 = \text{A. D. } 1276$. The style of the letters is in keeping with this date, but is quite incompatible with that derivable from the Chinese date of the era. The Chinese place the death of Buddha upwards of 1,000 years before Christ, so that, according to them, the date of this inscription would be about A. D. 800, a period much too early for the style of character used in the inscription. But as the day of the week is here fortunately added the date can be verified by calculation. According to my calculation the date of the inscription corresponds with Wednesday, the 17th September, A. D. 1342. This would place the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha in 477 B C, which is the very year that was first proposed by myself as the most probable date of that event. This corrected date has since been adopted by Professor Max Muller *

Some of the inscriptions, though less interesting are still valuable for the light which they will throw upon the mediæval period of Indian history. Several Rajas are mentioned in them and in one of them the date is very minutely detailed in several different eras.

The most noteworthy places at Gaya are the temples of *Vishnu-pad*, or 'Vishnu's feet', of *Gadādhara* or the mace bearer, a title of Vishnu, and of *Gayeswari Devi*. The figure in this last temple is, however, that of *Durgā* slaying the Buffalo or Maheshāsura, but as the destruction of the Asura Gaya is universally attributed to Vishnu, this temple must originally have contained a statue of that god as Gayeswara Deva, or the "lord of Gaya". Gaya was an *Asura* or demon. All the gods and goddesses sat upon him, but were unable to keep him down, when Vishnu put his foot upon him and prevailed, and the giant is said to be still lying there under the temple of *Vishnu-pad*. This, however, is the Brahmanical story, for the Buddhists say that the name is derived from Gaya Kasyapa, a fire worshipper, who on this very spot was overcome by Buddha in argument.

I have since submitted this date to the scrutiny of my learned friend Eipu Deva Sastri, the well known astronomer; according to whose calculation the 1st of Kartik badi in A. D. 1276 was a Friday and in A. D. 1342 a Monday; but in A. D. 1341 it fell on Wednesday the 7th of October N. S., which would place the beginning of the Buddhist era in B. C. 478.



Letter to the Burer Gen'l's Office, Cal. August 1971

Several interesting sculptures, and one long and well preserved inscription, are also to be seen at the *Kṛishna Dicarika* temple

In the neighbourhood of the Vishnu-pad there is a deep tank called Suraj Kund, to the west of which is a temple to *Surya* or the Sun. The vestibule of this temple is formed of two double rows of pillars, all ten feet in height, and all leaning more or less to the north. There are five pillars in each row. The whole temple, both inside and outside, has been repeatedly white-washed, so as almost to conceal the ornaments of the pillars. One long inscription was found inside, and a second was afterwards obtained by scraping off the thick coating of white-wash from a part of the wall pointed out by a good-natured Brahman. This inscription was the valuable one first mentioned as containing a date in the era of the death of Buddha.

The several hills in the immediate neighbourhood are also esteemed holy, and are accordingly crowned with temples. The highest of these, to the south of the town, is called *Brahmjun*, or *Brahma-yoni*, the temple on its summit being dedicated to the *Sakti*, or female energy of Brahma, whose five-headed statue is enshrined in the temple*. This figure is placed on an old pedestal which is said to have been inscribed with a verse stating the date of erection in V. S. 1690 or A. D. 1633. The destruction of the statue is attributed with much probability to Aurang Shah. On the left hand of this statue there is a small two-armed standing figure with a horse on the pedestal. It is, therefore, most probably a statue of Sambhunâth, the 3rd of the 24 Jain hierarchs, whose cognizance is a horse. Beside this figure there is a group of Siva and Pârvatî with the Bull Nandi below, and a short imperfect inscription in three lines, of which only one-half now remains. The characters belong to the period of the 10th or 11th century. The hill is 450 feet in height, and very steep on the town side. But the ascent has been rendered easy to pilgrims by the erection of a long flight of steps from the base to the summit by the Mahratta Deva Rao Bhao Saheb, since the accession of the present Maharaja Jâyaji, of Gwalior, that is, within the last 18 years, as recorded on an inscription slab let into the pavement.

* See Plate III for the position of this hill. This statue belongs properly to Siva who has five heads, as Brahmâ has only four heads.

To the north of the town, the granite hill of *Rāmsila* rises to a height of 372 feet. The granite temple on its summit contains a lingam called *Pātāleswara Mahadeva*, as well as small figures of Siva and Pārvatī. The upper portion of this temple is modern, being constructed of various ancient fragments that do not fit well together, and which are in some instances placed upside down. The lower part of the temple, from eight to ten feet in height, is undoubtedly old, and perhaps the date of 1071 Samvat, or A. D. 1014, found on one of the blocks of the granite pavement may record the actual period of the erection of the temple. The basement mouldings are strikingly bold and effective.

To the north west of the town, the hill of *Pretsila* bears a small temple erected by Ahalya Bai to pacify the ghost or spirit (*preta*) who is said to dwell in the hill. I could learn nothing of the origin of this spirit, who is held in great awe, from which I infer that he is identical with Yama, the god of death, one of whose titles is *Pretaraja*, or king of ghosts, that is, of departed spirits. The hill is 541 feet in height, and its rocks are believed to contain gold. The shrine is much frequented by pilgrims who seek to appease the dread spirit by their offerings. There is a curious serpentine road leading from the foot of *Rāmsila* to *Pretsila*. The road has been metalled, and trees have been planted on both sides of it by some wealthy devotees.

Rāma Gaya is a small hill on the eastern bank of the Phalgu River, opposite Brahmjuin. There are some ruins and broken statues scattered about it, but nothing of any interest except one short inscription of *Sri Mahendra Pāla Deva*, dated in the eighth year of his own reign, or of some new era.

II. BUDDHA-GAYA

Buddha Gaya is famous as the locality of the holy Pipal tree under which Śākya Sinha sat for six years in mental abstraction until he obtained Buddhahood. The name is usually written Buddha Gaya but as it is commonly pronounced Bodhi Gaya, I have little doubt that it was originally called Bodhi Gaya, after the celebrated Bodhi drūm or "tree of knowledge." A long and detailed account of this sacred place is given by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang who travelled all over India between the years A. D. 629 and

612. He describes minutely all the temples and statues which surrounded the celebrated Pipal tree, known throughout the Buddhist world as the *Bodhi-drûm*. Several of the objects enumerated by the Chinese pilgrim I have been able to identify from their exact correspondence with his description.*

The celebrated Bodhi tree still exists, but is very much decayed; one large stem, with three branches to the westward, is still green, but the other branches are barkless and rotten. The green branch perhaps belongs to some younger tree, as there are numerous stems of apparently different trees clustered together. The tree must have been renewed frequently, as the present Pipal is standing on a terrace at least 30 feet above the level of the surrounding country. It was in full vigour in 1811, when seen by Dr. Buchanan (Hamilton), who describes it as in all probability not exceeding 100 years of age. Hwen Thsang also describes an early renewal by King *Purna Varma* after its destruction by King *Sasāngka*, who dug up the ground on which it had stood, and moistened the earth with sugar-cane juice to prevent its renewal.

Immediately to the east of the Pipal tree there is a massive brick temple, nearly 50 feet square at base and 160 feet in height from the granite floor of the lower story to the top of its broken pinnacle. This is beyond all doubt the *Vihār*, from 160 to 170 feet in height, described by Hwen Thsang as standing to the east of the Bodhi tree. Its base was about 20 paces square. It was built of bluish bricks plastered with lime, it was ornamented with niches in stages, each niche holding a golden statue of Buddha, and was crowned with an *amalaka* fruit in gilt copper. The existing temple, both in size and appearance, corresponds so exactly with this description, that I feel quite satisfied it must be the identical temple that was seen by Hwen Thsang. The ruined temple, as it now stands, is 160 feet in height, with a base of rather less than 50 feet square. It is built entirely of dark red brick of a bluish tinge, and has formerly been plastered all over. Lastly, the walls are ornamented externally

* The life and travels of Hwen Thsang have been given to the world by M. Stanislas Julien in three volumes entitled *Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes*. This translation, the work of twenty years' persevering labor in the acquisition of Chinese and Sanskrit, combined with an intimate knowledge of Buddhist literature, is a lasting monument of human industry and learning.

with eight tiers, or rows, of niches, many of which still hold figures of Buddha. These figures are made of plastered brick, but they were no doubt formerly gilt, as is done with the plaster statues of the Burmese at the present day. There is, however, no trace of the copper gilt *amalaka* fruit. I have thus been particular in noting the points of correspondence between the two temples, because there seems to me to be a very strong probability that the existing temple was originally built by the celebrated *Amara Sinha*, the author of the *Amara Kosha* as I will now proceed to show.

On the site of this temple according to Hwen Thsang, there was originally a small *Vihār* built by Asoka between 259 and 241 B. C.* Afterwards, a new temple of very great size was built by a Brahman in compliance with the instructions of the god Mahadeva conveyed to him in a vision. Inside the temple was placed a statue of the ascetic Buddha as he appeared when seated in meditation under the Bodhi tree. The statue was 11 feet and 5 inches in height, 8 feet 8 inches in breadth across the knees, and 6 feet 2 inches across the shoulders. The figure was sitting cross legged facing the east. Now these particulars correspond almost exactly with the arrangements of the present building. Its doorway is towards the east, and consequently the enshrined statue must have faced toward the east. The statue itself has long ago disappeared, but its pedestal still remains in good order. Its dimensions are as follows: length 13 feet 2 inches, breadth 5 feet 8 inches, and height 4 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, which measurements agree most closely with those recorded by Hwen Thsang: namely 12 feet 5 inches in length by 4 feet 2 inches in height. Considering how exactly both the temple and the pedestal of the figure correspond in size and in other respects with the description of Hwen Thsang, I think there can be no reasonable doubt that the present temple is the same that was seen by him in the 7th century of our era.†

Now, in an inscription dated in A. D. 918, which was found at Buddha Gaya, and translated by Sir Charles Wilkins,‡ the author of the record ascribes the building of this

Jullien & Hwen Thsang II 465

† See Plate IV for a plan of the temple and Plate V for the pedestal.

‡ Bengal Asiatic Researches vol. I.

temple, and the erection of an image of Buddha, to the illustrious *Amara Deva*, who is stated to have been one of the nine gems of the court of King Vikramaditya. The last fact serves at once to identify Amara Deva with Amara Sinha, the author of the *Amara Kosha*, who, as a contemporary of *Tarāha Mihira* and *Kālidās*, must have lived in A. D. 500. In this inscription the temple is said to have been erected in compliance with the command of Buddha himself, conveyed to him in a vision. Here then we have the same story that is found in Hwen Thsang. In both statements, a Brahman in a vision receives command from a deity to build a temple with an enshrined figure of a god. The correspondence is complete, excepting only one curious point of difference in the name of the god, whom the Buddhist Hwen Thsang describes as the Brahmanical Mahadeva, but whom the Brahmanist recorder of the inscription calls Buddha himself.

The holy places at Buddha-Gaya were visited between A. D. 399 and 411 by another Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian, but his account of them is unfortunately very brief. It is, however, sufficient to show that there was no temple in existence at that date. Fa-Hian notes the spot where Buddha, seated on a stone under a great tree, eat some rice presented to him by two maidens. The stone still existed, and is described by him as about 6 feet in length and breadth, and 2 feet in height*. Now, there is a large circular stone, 5 feet 7½ inches in diameter and about 2 feet high, in the small temple of *Vageswari Devi*, which from its dimensions would seem to be the identical stone described by Fa-Hian. It is a blue stone streaked with whitish veins, and the surface is covered with concentric circles of various minute ornaments. The second circle is composed of *Vajras* only. The third is a wavy scroll, filled with figures of men and animals. These circles occupy a breadth of 15 inches, leaving in the centre a plain circle, 3 feet 1½ inches in diameter, inside which is a square. This simple stone I believe to be the same as that mentioned by Hwen Thsang as a blue stone with remarkable veins.†

From all the facts which I have brought forward, such as the non-existence of any temple in A. D. 400, the recorded erection of a large one by Amara Deva about A. D. 500, and

* Beal's Fa-Hian, c XXXI

† Juhen's Hwen Thsang, II, 471

the exact agreement in size as well as in material and ornamentation between the existing temple and that described by Hwen Thsang between A. D. 629 and 642. I feel satisfied that the present lofty temple is the identical one that was built by the celebrated Amara Sinha about A. D. 500.

Further information regarding this temple is to be found in the Burmese inscription discovered at Buddha Gava by the Burmese Mission in 1833, and translated by Colonel Burney*. Another earlier translation by Ratna Pāla was published by James Prinsep. In this inscription the dates have been read differently by the two translators, Ratna Pāla and James Prinsep reading 667 and 668, while Colonel Burney and his Burmese assistants read 467 and 468. I have carefully copied this inscription, and I am thus enabled to state positively that Colonel Burney was certainly wrong in adopting the earlier date in compliance with the views of the Burmese priests whose object it was to reconcile the date of the inscription with their own history. James Prinsep remained unconvinced by Colonel Burney's arguments, and appended a note to his translation, in which he states that the first figure of the upper date might be a little doubtful but that the first six of the lower date seemed to him quite plain, and essentially different from the four which occurs in the second line of the inscription. The two dates of 667 and 668 of the Burmese era, as read by Ratna Pāla, correspond with A. D. 1305 and 1306.

In this Burmese inscription, the erection of the original temple is ascribed to Asoka, as recorded also by Hwen Thsang. Having become ruined, it is said to have been rebuilt by a priest named *Naik Mahanta* according to Ratna Pāla or by a lord named *Penthagu gyi* by Colonel Burney. Where the term 'priest' is used by Ratna Pāla, Colonel Burney gives "lord," because as he states, it is not now customary to say *ta youl* of a priest, although in former times both priests and laymen are said to have been styled *youk*. The Burmese affix *gyi* which means "great," has apparently been translated into the Indian *Nayak* or Chief, and *Penthagu* which Colonel Burney regards as a proper name, and which would therefore, be *Pensagu* in Indian pronunciation, is rendered Mahanta by Ratna Pāla. I cannot

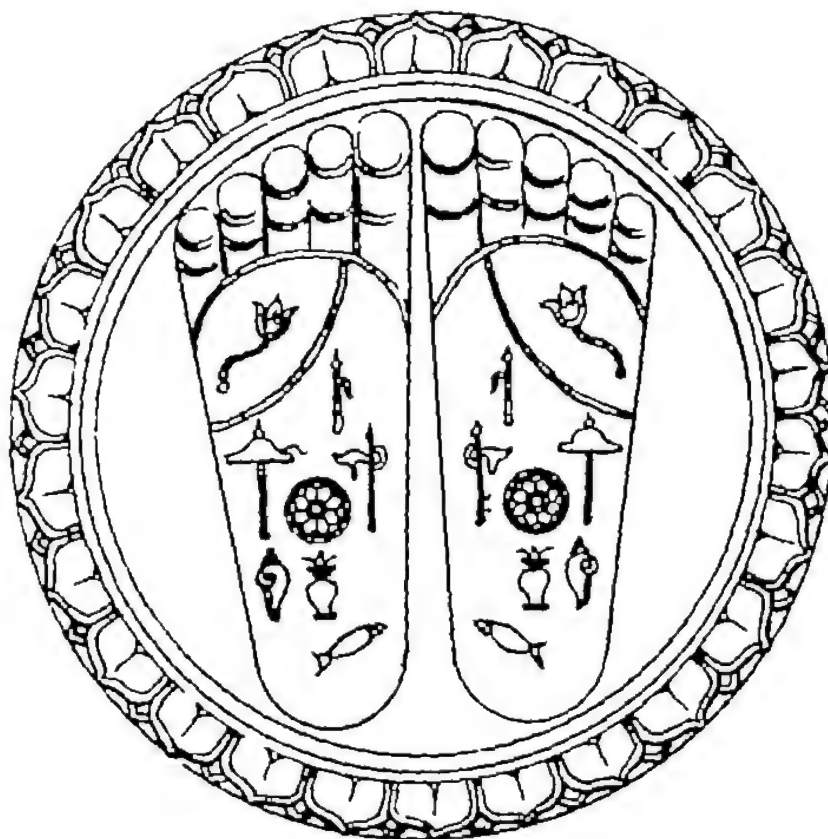
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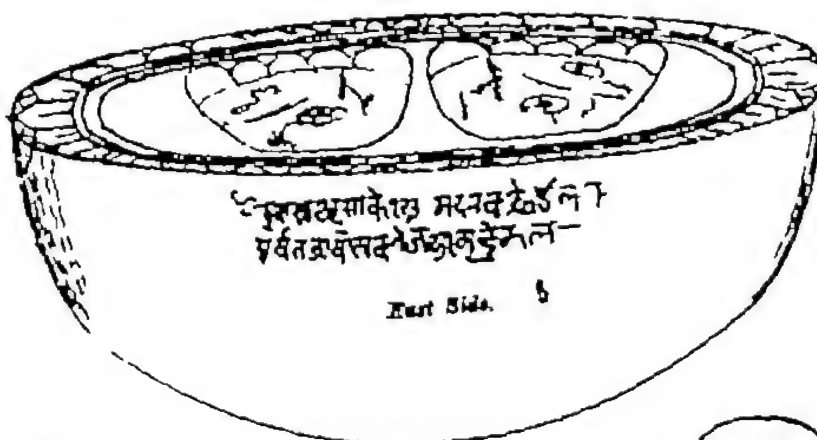
No 2 Pavement Slab of Great Temple S 1338



Buddha Pal



Diameter 3-67



Seal.



Of
Buddhist
Reading

Inscriptions on Pillars

{ मय्यदिगमि
मय्यदिगमि

For Brackets



pretend to reconcile these differences myself; but I submitted a copy of the inscription to Sir Arthur Phayre, whose intimate knowledge, both of the Burmese language and of the Buddhist history, entitles him to give an authoritative opinion on the disputed points of this interesting record. He reads the two dates as 667 and 660, corresponding with A. D. 1305 and 1298.* One thing is quite clear, if these different records are to be reconciled, namely, that *Penthagu-gyi* (or *Nark Mahanta*) should represent the Brahman of Hwen Thsang, and also the celebrated Amara Deva of Wilkin's inscription.

The Burmese inscription goes on to say that the temple, after being again destroyed, was re-built by King *Thado*. Then having once more become ruinous, the "Lord of the White Elephant" and the great "King of Righteousness" deputed *Sri Dharmmapada Rajaguna* to re-build it for a third time. After some delay, the work was begun in A. D. 1305, and the temple was consecrated in the following year 1306.

The granite pavement both inside the temple and in the court-yard outside is covered with rudely carved figures kneeling in adoration after the manner of the Burmese *Shiko*. Two specimens are given in Plate VI. with their accompanying inscriptions. The upper one is dated in Samvat 1385 or A. D. 1328, and the lower one three years later. The inscriptions record the names of the worshippers. On the left of the upper slab the inscription gives the name of a Thâkur and of two Thâkurins, no doubt his wives, one of whom is called *Jâgo*. From the representation of a *stupa* as the object of worship on the right of the upper slab, it would appear that at least one holy *stupa* was still standing at so late a date as A. D. 1328.

In front of the Great Temple there is a small open temple of four pillars covering a large circular stone, with two human feet carved upon it. This temple is now called *Buddha-pad*; but there can be little doubt that it is the same which is mentioned in the Amara Deva's inscription under the name of Vishnu-pad or "Vishnu's feet". Originally the feet may have been those of Buddha, which, on the

* In a private letter dated 9th March 1869

decline of Buddhism, were quietly appropriated to Vishnu by the accommodating Brahmins. There is a short Nāgarī inscription on the east side of the stone, giving the date of Śāke 1230, which is equivalent to A. D. 1308*.

There are other points of interest connected with the building of the Great Temple at Buddha-Gaya, such as the date of the Brahmanist King *Sasāngka* who rooted up the Bodhi tree, and placed an image of Mahādeva in the temple, as well as the date of his contemporary the Buddhist *Purna Varma*, who renewed the Bodhi tree.

Close to the Great Temple there is a small plain *Samādhi*, or cenotaph over the remains of the earliest Brahmanical *Mahant*. This is of no interest in itself, but the vestibule in front is supported on nine square sand stone pillars which have once formed part of a Buddhist railing similar to those at Sānchi near Bhilsa, and which cannot be of much later date than Asoka. Many similar pillars, but of granite, support the arcades in one of the courts of the Mahant's residence. A few of them bear an inscription in the ancient Pālī characters of Asoka's well known records, *Audye Kuragiye dānam*, that is, "Gift to the holy Kuragi." There are altogether 83 of these pillars still remaining of which five or six bear the above inscription. As the pillars are all sculptured the value of the gift made to the holy *Kuragi* could not have been less than 10 000 Rupees. Some of the sculptured bas-reliefs on these pillars are highly interesting. They show the Buddhist belief of the donor in the veneration for solid towers and trees, they show the style of architecture in the representations of temples, houses, gates and city walls, and the costumes of the people in the dresses of the king and of other worshippers of each sex.†

Of the 83 ancient pillars above described there are 10 of sand stone from some distant quarry, and 23 of granite from the neighbouring hills. They are all of the same dimensions and of the same age, but as the two sets of

* See Plate VII. for a view of this famous stone.

† See Plate VII. for the inscription, and Plates VIII., IX., X. and XI., for the pillars of the Buddhist railing and their sculptured medallions. The excavations which have since been made by Government, on my recommendation, have brought to light a similar series of granite pillars, which form an oblong colonnade surrounding the Great Temple, 131 feet from east to west, and 96 feet from north to south. Several of the lower horizontal rails are still attached to the broken pillars.

Pillars of Buddhist Railing

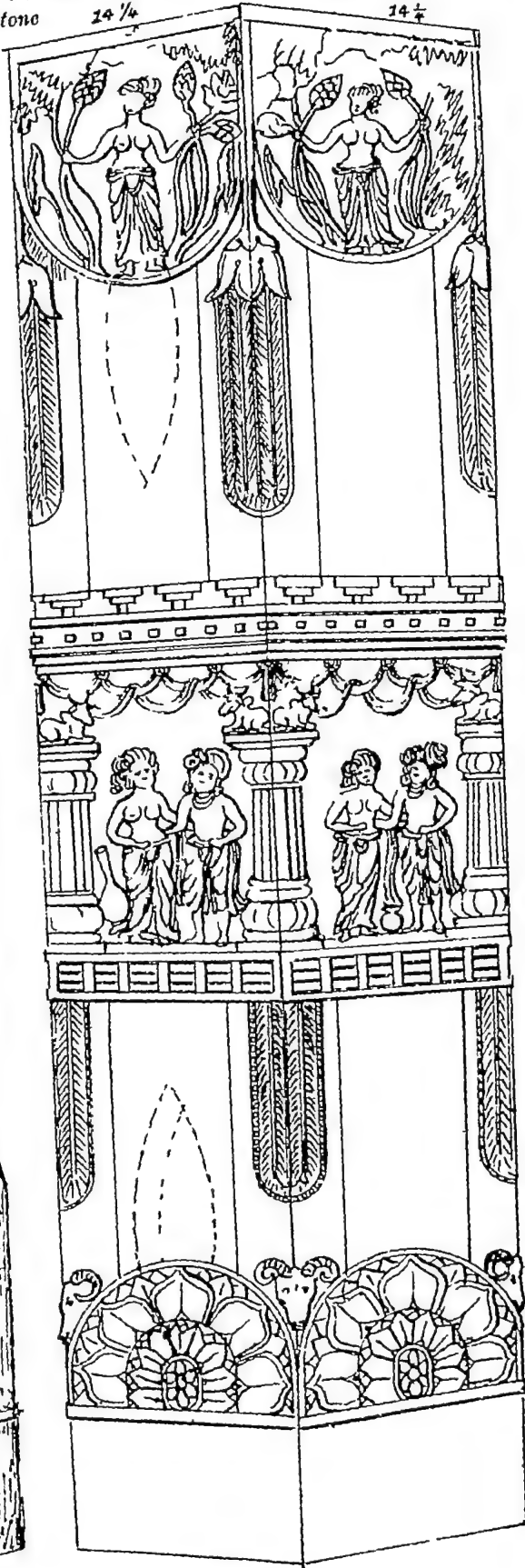
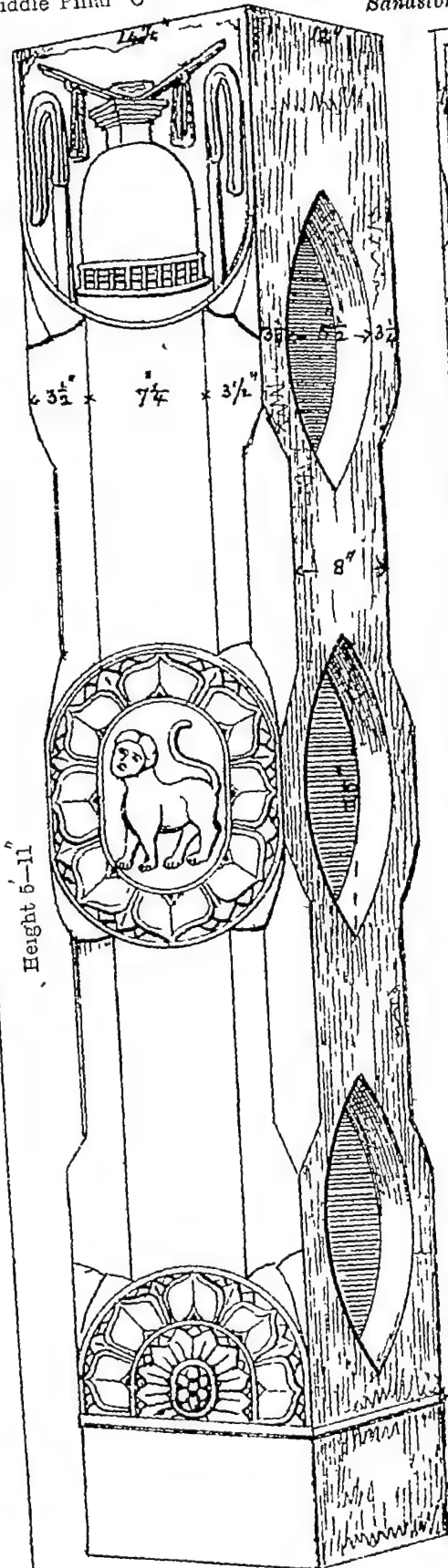
Middle Pillar C

Sandstone

14 1/4

Corner Pillar, B

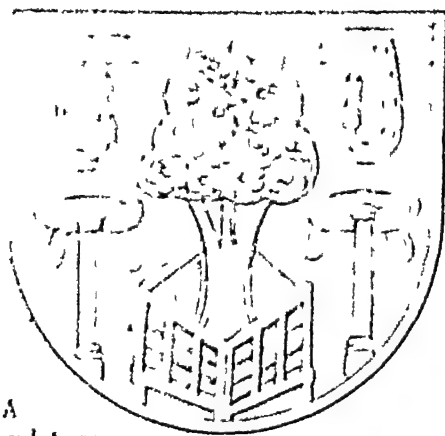
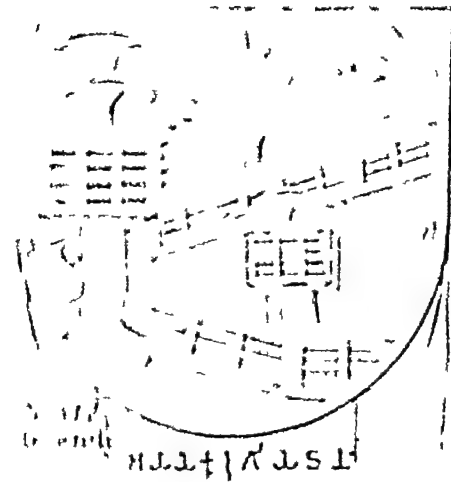
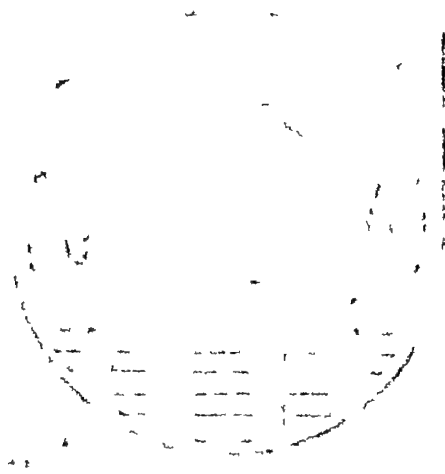
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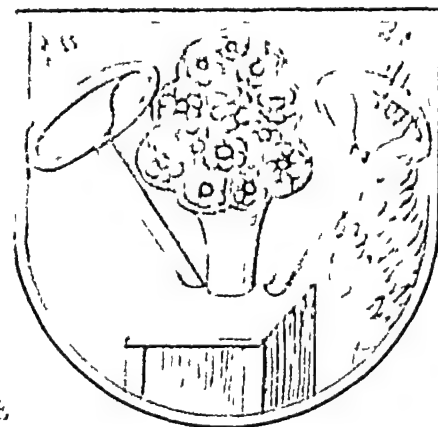
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Photocircographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta

Upper Parallel



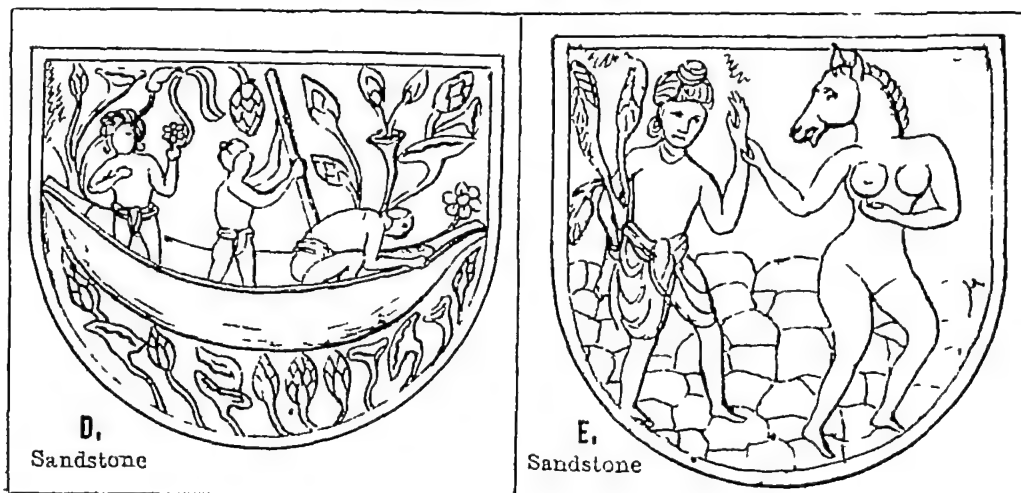
A
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E
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Buddhist Railing-Middle Pillars.

Upper Basreliefs

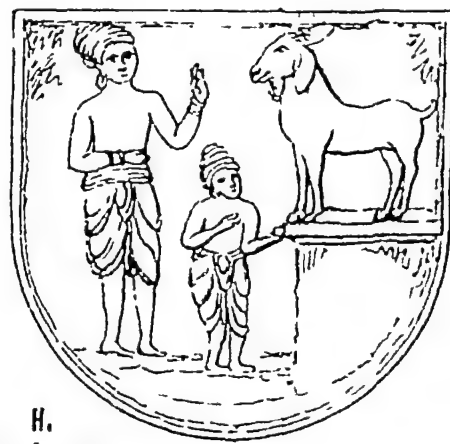


D.
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E.
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F.
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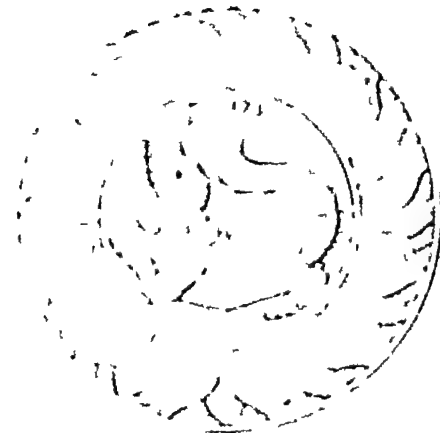
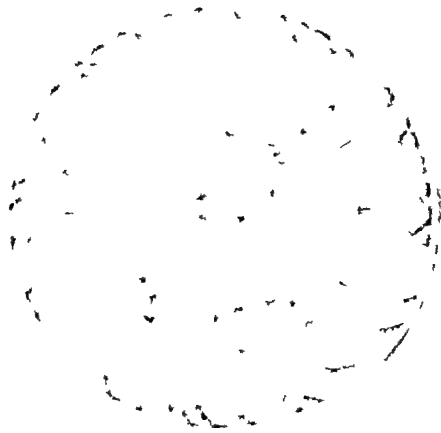
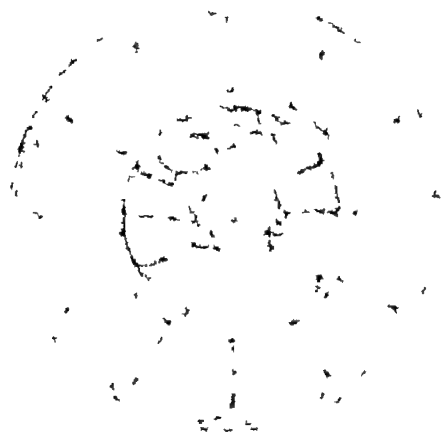
H.
Sandstone



G.
Gr 1



6.
Gr 1



Q. 111
C. 111

pillars were found in different localities, although not far apart. I believe that they originally formed different enclosures. The sand-stone pillars are said to have been found at the southern side of the Great Temple, and close to the holy Pipal tree. I believe, therefore, that they originally formed an enclosure round the Bodhi tree itself. The granite pillars are said to have been discovered about 50 yards to the east of the Great Temple; and I think it probable that they once formed an enclosure either round the *stupa* which stood on the spot where Buddha received a bowl of rice and milk from two milkmaids. According to Hwen Thsang, this *stupa* was to the south-west of the Great Temple.*

To the south-east of the Great Temple there is a small tank called *Budhohar Tál*, which exactly answers the description given by the Chinese pilgrim of the tank of the dragon *Muchalinda*.† This agreement is so striking, that it was seen at once by the members of the Burmese Embassy.

There are two ruined small temples to the east of the Great Temple, the nearer one being called *Tára Devi*, and the further one *Vágeswari Devi*. But the former temple contains only a standing male figure, with a short inscription over the right shoulder in characters of about A. D. 1000, *Sri Buddha-Dásasya*, “(the gift) of the fortunate slave of Buddha” The goddess *Tára* belongs to the later days of Buddhism, after the introduction of *Tántrika* doctrines. The other temple contains a seated male figure, holding a lotus in his left hand, and sword in his uplifted right hand, with a Buddhist *tope* or solid tower on each side of him.

To the north of the Bodhi tree there is a ruined fortress of earth 1,500 feet long by 1,000 feet broad, attributed to Raja *Amara Sinha Suvira*. This is possibly the same person as the Amara Deva who built the Great Temple, as the arched passage leading to the temple is said to have been built for the convenience of Amara Sinha’s Râni when returning from her morning bath in the *Nilâjan* River to pay her devotions at the shrine. The preservation of the title of *Sinha* down to the present day would seem to strengthen the supposition of Amara Deva’s identity with the author of the *Amara Kosha*.

* I venture to make this guess, as *kûra* or *kûr* is the Sanskrit name for “boiled rice,” and *kuragi* may, therefore, have been the name of the holy spot where Buddha accepted the offering of the milkmaids. *Kuragi* means also a measure of land in *Mahrattî*, the inscription may, therefore, mean simply “Gift to the holy spot of land.”

† Juhen’s Hwen Thsang, II, 478

The remaining antiquities at Buddha Gaya consist of numerous Buddhist statues of all sizes, some placed in small temples, and others scattered about the ruins, but the greatest number of them, and by far the finest, are fixed in the walls of the Mahant's residence

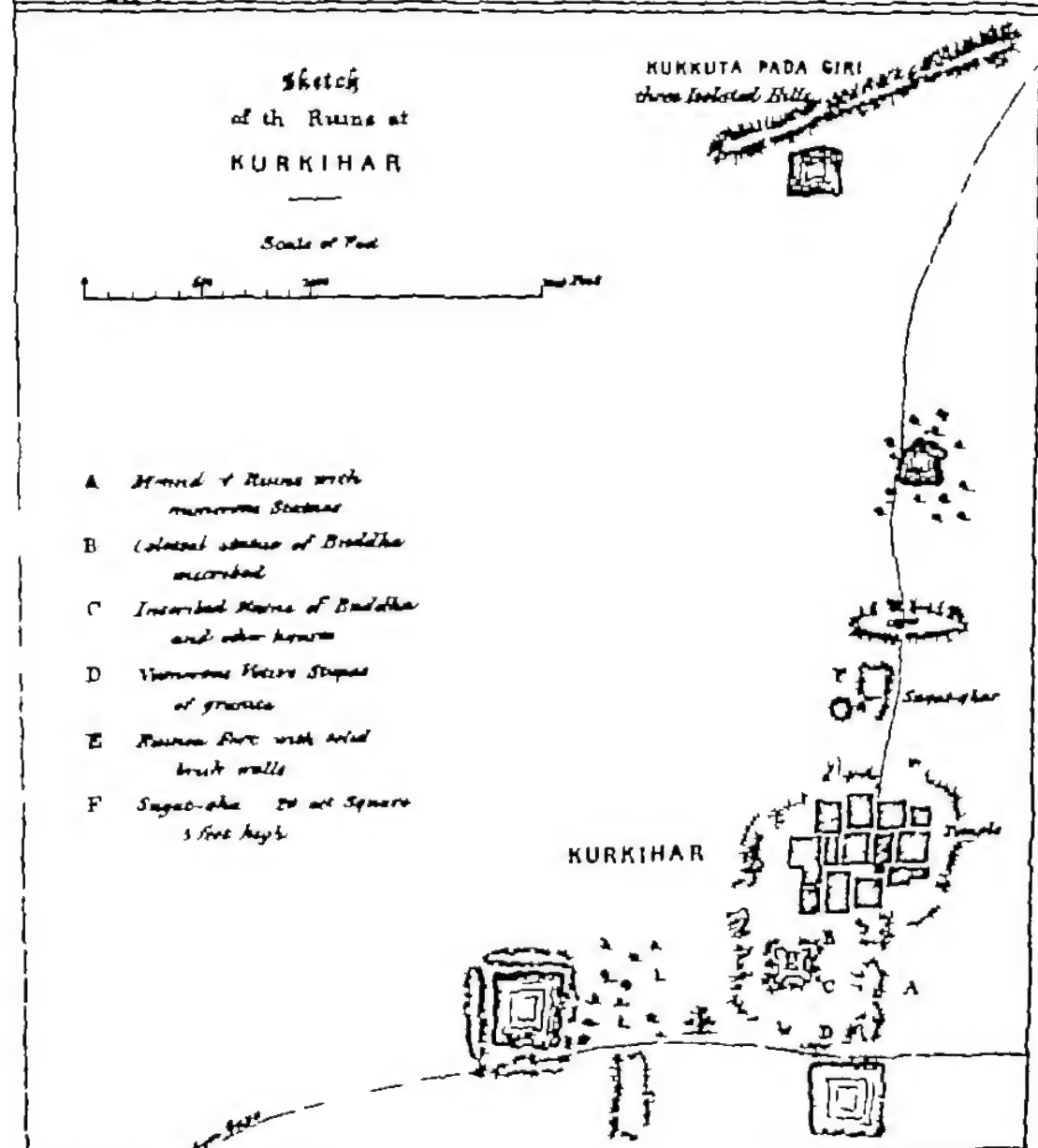
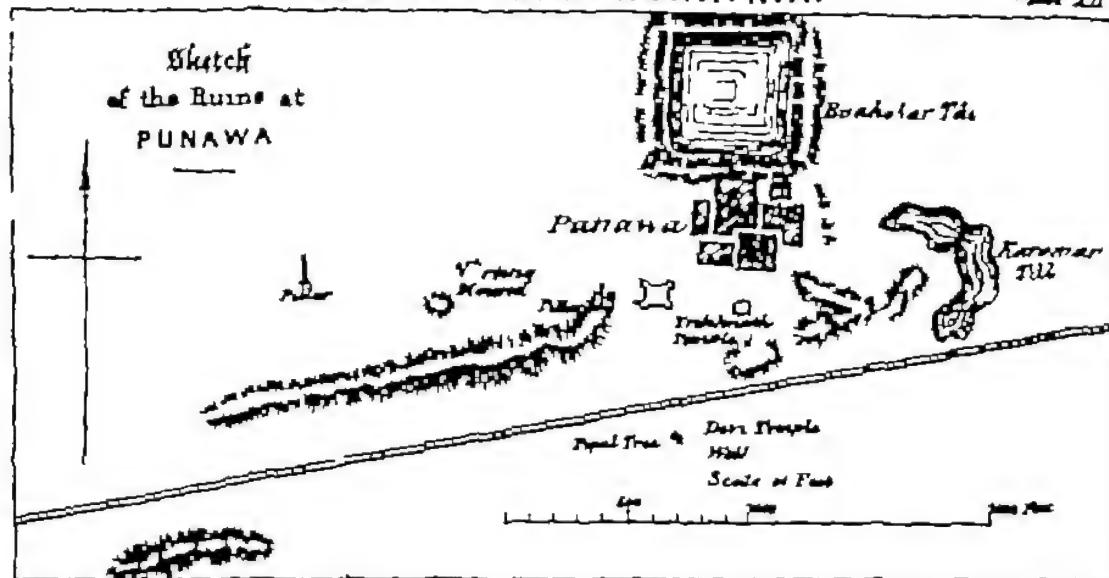
The existing inscriptions at Buddha Gaya are few in number, and, with one exception, they are of little importance. Two valuable inscriptions, translated by Wilkins and James Prinsep, are no longer to be found, nor does the Mahant know anything about them. This is the more to be regretted as the former was the record already quoted of Amara Deva, and the other had a doubtful date which might have been re-examined. In searching for these, however, I found a new inscription in the pavement of the gateway of the Mahant's residence. The tenon hinge of the gate works in a socket formed in the very middle of the inscription. There are two socket holes, the second one having belonged to an older gate, or having been cut in the wrong position. This inscription opens with an invocation to Buddha

III. BAKROR

To the eastward of Buddha Gaya, on the opposite bank of the Phalgu or Lalajan River, and immediately to the north of the village of Bakror, there are the ruins of a large brick tope, with a stump of a sand stone pillar at a short distance to the northward. The ruined mound, which is called Katani, is 150 feet in diameter at base, and 50 feet high. It is built of the usual large bricks $15\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$. Several excavations have been made in it in search of bricks and treasure. About 70 years ago numerous lac seals, impressed with a figure of Buddha, were found in excavating this tope. These are engraved in Moor's Hindu Pantheon, Plate LXX., Figures 6, 7 and 8, where they are said to have been dug up at Buddha Gaya. My information was, however, derived from the Mahant himself and as Bakror is only half a mile to the eastward it would have been more correct to have described the locality as *near*, instead of *at*, Buddha Gaya. The stump of the pillar, which is still in situ, is 3 feet $0\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, and there is another fragment near a well to the north west that measures 3 feet $0\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. Both of these pieces belong to the rough bottom portion of the pillar, which must

PUNAWA AND KURKI HAR

Plate XII



have been imbedded in masonry. The shaft of this pillar is said to have been taken to Gaya by a former Magistrate. Accordingly in Sâhebganj, or the new city of Gaya, there is a sand-stone pillar 2 feet 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and upwards of 16 feet in height, which was set up as a central point in Sahebganj, as recorded in a Persian inscription by Charles Bâdom Sahib (Boddam) in A. D. 1789.

The tope and pillar of Bakror were visited by Hwen Thsang, who relates a story regarding the capture by a certain king of an "Elephant of Perfume" (*gandha-hasti*) *. In a former existence, as a Bodhisatwa, Buddha was said to have been the son of this Elephant, and a stupa and pillar had accordingly been erected in commemoration of the tradition. There was also a sacred tank, which is, perhaps, represented by a small walled tank generally called *Mârttand Pokhar* or *Suraj Kûnd*, that is, the "Tank of the Sun" It is also called *Buddhakûnd*, but this name was applied by some to a large unwalled tank about 800 feet square, immediately to the north of the small tank. An annual fair is held at the Suraj Kûnd, when thousands of pilgrims assemble to bathe in its holy waters. They sit in the water in rows, and repeat, after their attendant Brahmans, the names of all the holy places around Gaya. The ancient name of Bakror is said to have been *Ajayapura*.

IV PUNAWA.

The village of Punâwâ is situated 14 miles to the eastward of Gaya, between two hills of grey granite. To the north there is a fine old square tank called *Budhokar Tâl*, and to the east another tank called *Karamâr Tâl*. The principal object is a pillared temple of *Triloknâth*. As it stands at present, this temple is a modern work made up of different sized pillars of various patterns, some with and others without capitals, so as to bring them to the required height. Pilasters have even been made use of as whole pillars, with the old rough engaged backs left exposed. One of the doorways of hard blue stone is richly sculptured. In the centre is a figure of the ascetic Buddha, with a three-pointed crown over his head, and on each side of him nine figures with joined hands

* Juhen's Hwen Thsang, III, 1.

kneeling towards him. The other doorways are of granite, and, though very plain, are evidently of the same age as the more highly ornamented one *

Several statues and granite pillars of different sizes are scattered about the foot of the hills. Portions of the usual Buddhist formula, "*Ye Dhamma*," &c, are found upon some of the statues. There are no dates in any of these inscriptions, but the style of their letters fixes their date at about A. D. 1000. To the north west, on a mound 60 feet square, there are five broken pillars and a broken statue of the three headed goddess *Vajra-Varāhi*, one of the principal objects of worship amongst the later Buddhists. Two of her heads are human, but the third is that of a hog and on the pedestal there are seven hogs. The ruined temple on this mound is called *Nārting*.

V KURKIĦAR

About three miles to the north east of Punāwā is the large village of KurkiĦar. It is not to be found in any of our maps, not even in No. 103 sheet of the Indian Atlas, although it is perhaps the largest place between the cities of Gaya and Bihār. The remains at KurkiĦar consist of several ruined mounds, in which numerous statues and small votive topes of dark blue stone have been found. The principal mass of ruin, about 600 feet square, lies immediately to the south of the village *. A second less extensive mound lies to the south west, and there is a small mound, only 120 feet square, to the north of the village. The last mound is called *Sugatgarh* or the "house of *Sugata*," one of the well known titles of Buddha. In the principal mass of ruin, the late Major Kittoe dug up a great number of statues and votive topes, and a recent excavation on the west side showed the solid brick work of a Buddhist stupa. In the north west corner of this excavation the relic chamber had been reached, and I was privately informed that a small figure and some other remains had been discovered inside. But the head man of the village stoutly denied that anything had been found, and all the villagers then denied the discovery also.

* See Plate XII.

The principal statue is a squatted figure of the ascetic Buddha under the holy Pipal tree, or *Bodhi-tree*. Overhead there is a representation of the *Nirvāna*, or death of Buddha, and on the pedestal there is an inscription in three lines, which is incomplete owing to the loss of a projecting corner of the base. To the right and left there are smaller figures of *Māyā* standing under the Sāl tree at the birth of Buddha, and of Buddha himself teaching the law at Banâras after his first attainment of Buddhahood. On the mound to the east there is a standing figure of Buddha, with a small attendant figure holding an umbrella over him. As this attendant has three heads, I believe that it represents the Hindu Triad in the humble position of a servitor of Buddha.

At the north-east corner of the village there is a small rude Hindu temple of brick, in and about which a large number of statues have been collected. The temple is dedicated to Bâgheswari Devi (Vyâghreswari), but the principal figure inside is a life-size statue of the eight-armed *Durgā* conquering the Maheshâsur or Buffalo demon. The figure pointed out to me as that of Bâgheswari was a four-armed female seated on a lion with a child in her lap; but I believe that this figure represents either *Indrāni* with her son the infant Jayanta, or *Shasti*, the goddess of fecundity, a form of *Durgā*. The principal figure outside the temple is a life-size statue of *Akshobya*, who is represented squatted under the Bodhi tree, in the same manner as the ascetic Buddha, with the left hand in the lap, and the right hand hanging over the knee. There is a halo round the head inscribed with the usual Buddhist formula, "*Ye Dhamma*," &c, and near the head there is a short inscription giving the name of the figure "*Tān Akshobya-vajra, hān*."

I procured several short but interesting inscriptions at Kurkihâr. The name of *Sākala* is mentioned in several of them, and also *Kerala* in *Dakshinades**. The age of these inscriptions, judging from the shapes of the letters, must be about A. D. 800 to 1000.

The true name of *Kurkihâr* is said to be Kurak-vihâr, which I believe to be only a contracted form of *Kūkkuta-pāda Vihāra* or "temple of the cock's foot," which must have been connected with the *Kukkuta-pāda-giri* or

* See Plate XIII.

Cock's foot hill, which is described by both Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang*. The Sanskrit *Kukkuta* is the same word as the Hindi *Kukkar* or *Kurak*, a cock, so that *Kurak vihār* is clearly the same appellation as *Kikkuta-pāda Vihāra*. There was a monastery also of the same name, but this was close to *Pātaliputra* or Patna. The *Kikkuta-pāda giri* was a three peaked hill, which was celebrated as the abode of the great *Kāśyapa*, as well as the scene of his death. On this account it was also called *Guru-pāda-parvata*, or "Teacher's-foot hill." The situation of *Kurkihār* corresponds exactly with Fa Hian's account, excepting that there is no three-peaked hill in its neighbourhood. There are, however, three bare and rugged hills which rise boldly out of the plain about half a mile to the north of the village. As these three hills touch one another at their bases, I think that they may fairly be identified with the three-peaked hill of Hwen Thsang.

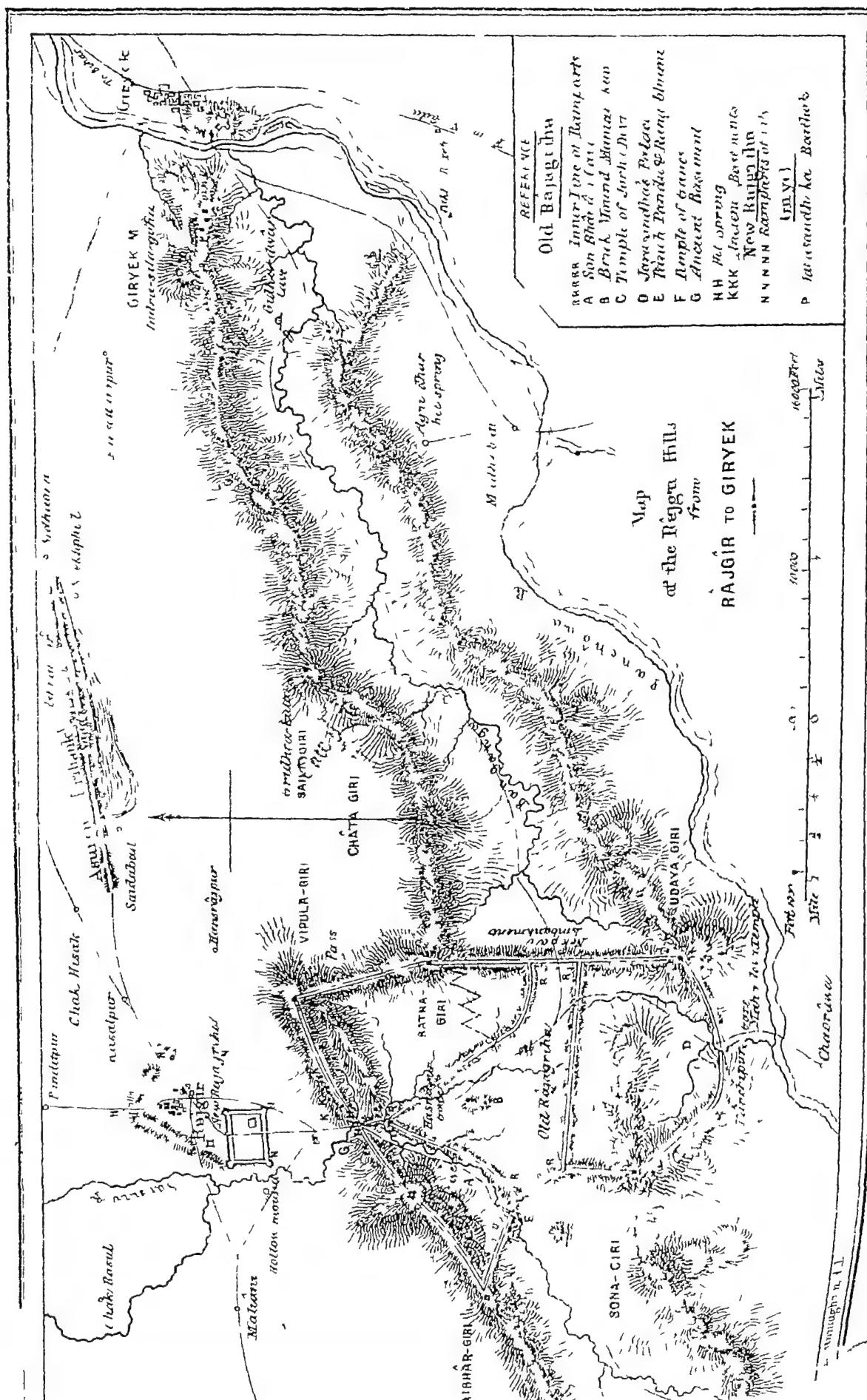
VI GIRYEK

From the neighbourhood of Gaya two parallel ranges of hills stretch towards the north east for about 36 miles to the bank of the Panchāna River, just opposite the village of Giryek. The eastern end of the southern range is much depressed, but the northern range maintains its height, and ends abruptly in two lofty peaks overhanging the Panchāna River †. The lower peak on the east is crowned with a solid tower of brick work, well known as *Jarasandha la-baithak*, or "Jarasandha's throne," while the higher peak on the west, to which the name of Giryek peculiarly belongs, bears an oblong terrace covered with the ruins of several buildings. The principal ruin would appear to have been a *vihār*, or temple, on the highest point of the terrace, which was approached by a steep flight of steps leading through pillared rooms.

The two peaks are connected by a steep pavement, which was formerly continued down to the foot of the hill opposite the village of Giryek. At all the commanding points and bends of this road are still to be seen the stone foundations of small brick *stupas* from 5 and 6 feet to upwards of 12 feet in diameter. At the foot of the upper

* Beal, Fa-Hian, c. XXIII and Julien & Hwen Thsang III., 6.

† See Plates III. and XI. for the position of Giryek.



slope, and within 50 feet of Jarasandha's Tower, a tank 100 feet square has been formed, partly by excavation, and partly by building up. There is a second tank, at a short distance to the north, formed by the excavation of the rock for building materials. Both of these tanks are now dry.

The stupa, called *Jarasandha-ka-baithak*, is a solid cylindrical brick tower, 28 feet in diameter, and 21 feet in height, resting on a square basement 14 feet high. The cylinder was once surmounted by a solid dome or hemisphere of brick, of which only 6 feet now remain, and this dome must have been crowned with the usual umbrella rising out of a square base. The total height of the building could not, therefore, have been less than 55 feet or thereabouts. The surface has once been thickly plastered, and the style of ornamentation is similar to that of the Great Temple at Buddha Gaya.* I sank a shaft 41 feet in depth from the top of the building right down to the stone foundation; and I continued a gallery, which had been begun many years ago, at the base of the cylinder, until it met the well sunk from above, but nothing whatever was discovered in either of these excavations to show the object of the building.

On the west side of Jarasandha's Tower, and almost touching its basement, I observed a low mound which seemed like the ruin of another stupa. On clearing the top, however, I found a small chamber 5 feet 8 inches square, filled with rubbish. This chamber gradually widened as it was cleared out, until it became 7 feet square. At $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth, the rubbish gave place to brick-work, below which was a stratum of stone, evidently the rough foundation of the building. In the south-west corner of the brick-work, about one foot below the surface, I found 84 seals of lac firmly imbedded in the mud mortar. The seals were all oval, but of different sizes, generally about 3 inches long and 2 inches broad. All, however, bore the same impression of a large stupa with four smaller stupas on each side, the whole surrounded by an inscription in mediæval Nāgarī characters, *Ye Dharma hetu prabhava*, &c., being the well known formula of the Buddhist faith. Externally, this building was square with projections in the centre of each face and similar in its ornamentations to the basement of Jarasandha's Tower.

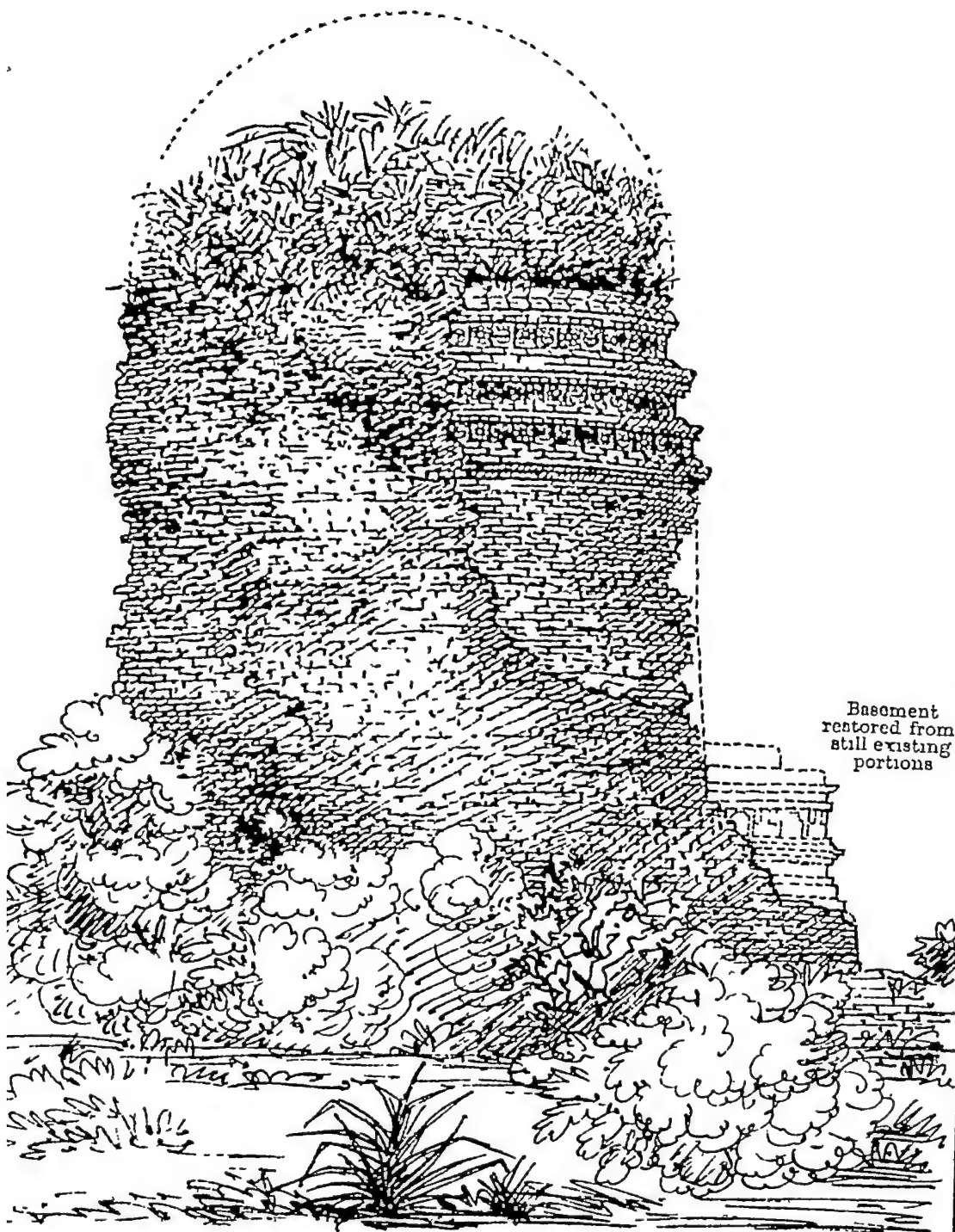
* See Plate XV for a sketch of this stupa.

On the eastern side of the Panchāna River, there is an extensive mound of ruins, being half a mile long from north to south and 300 yards broad in its widest part. There are the remains of two paved ascents on the river side, and of three more on the opposite side of the mound. In the middle of the mound there is a small mud fort, and at the northern end there are several pieces of sculpture collected together from different places, one of these is inscribed and dated in the year 42 of some unknown era, somewhere about the eleventh century, or perhaps even somewhat later.

At two miles to the south west of the village of Giryek, and one mile from Jarasandha's Tower, there is a natural cavern in the southern face of the mountain, about 250 feet above the bed of the Bānganga rivulet. This cave, called Gidhadwār, is generally believed to communicate with Jarasandha's Tower, but an examination with torches proved it to be a natural fissure running upwards in the direction of the tower but only 98 feet in length. The mouth of the cavern, is 10 feet broad and 17 feet high, but its height diminishes rapidly towards the end. The cave is filled with bats and the air is oppressively warm and disagreeable, which alone is sufficient to prove that there is no exit to the cavern otherwise there would be a draught of air right through it. Vultures swarm about the precipitous cliffs of pale grey horn stone, and I picked up their feathers in the mouth of the cave.

The remains at Giryek, which I have just described, appear to me to correspond exactly with the accounts given by Fa Hian of the "Hill of the Isolated Rock," where Indra questioned Buddha on 42 points, writing each of them singly with his finger upon a stone, and with that given by Hwen Thsang of the hill of *Indra-sila guha*, which refers to the same story*. Fa Hian states that traces of these written questions still existed, and that there was a monastery built upon the spot, but he makes no mention of any stupa. Hwen Thsang states that on the crest of the hill there were marks in two places where the four former Buddhas had sat and walked. On the eastern peak there was a stupa and also a monastery called the "*Hansa Sangharama*" or "Goose's Monastery" to account for which he relates the

* Beal's Fa-Hian, c. 23 and Julien's Hwen Thsang, III., 58.



following legend: One day, when taking exercise, a mendicant, who was the steward of the monastery, saw a flock of geese high in the air, and as the monks of his fraternity, although strictly abstemious, had experienced great difficulty in procuring sufficient food, he exclaimed playfully—"To-day the pittance of the monks is insufficient O noble beings (*Mahāsattvas*) you ought to have compassion on our circumstances." No sooner had he spoken these words, than one of the geese fell dead at his feet. The horror-struck mendicant ran to tell the tale to his brethren, who became overwhelmed with grief. "Buddha," said they, "established his law for man's guidance under all circumstances. The *Mahāyāna* (Great Vehicle) is the source of truth, while we have foolishly followed the doctrine of the *Hināyāna* (Lesser Vehicle). Let us renounce our former opinions. This goose has taught us a salutary lesson, let us do honour to her eminent virtue by transmitting it to the most distant ages." They accordingly built a stupa over the dead goose, which was interred in the base of the monument, and adorned it with an inscription relating the pious devotion of the goose.

If my identification of the Giryek Hill with the *Indra-sila-guha* of Hwen Thsang is correct, there can be little doubt that Jarasandha's Tower is the very stupa that was built in honour of the devoted goose. Only this one stupa is mentioned by Hwen Thsang, and Jarasandha's Tower is the only one now existing on the hill. In further corroboration of this identification, I may mention that close by I found a broken figure with a large goose carved on the pedestal; and further, that one of the stupas on the lac seals found on the spot, appears to bear a goose on its summit. As no mention is made of any stupa by Fa-Hian, the erection of this tower most probably took place between his date and that of Hwen Thsang, or about A. D. 500.

The position of Giryek corresponds so exactly both in bearing and distance with that of the hill of *Indra-sila-guha*, that I feel quite satisfied of their identity. No etymology has yet been proposed for the name of Giryek; but it seems to me not unlikely that it is nothing more than *Girika*, "one hill," that is, the Hill of the Isolated Rock of Fa-Hian.

Both of the pilgrims mention the cave in the southern face of the mountain, which corresponds exactly with the

northern face of the south west end of the mountain, at above one mile from the Son bhāṇḍār Cave

Mount *Vipula* is clearly identical with the *Wepullo* of the Pālī annals, and as its summit is now crowned with the ruins of a lofty *stupa* or *chaitya*, which is noticed by Hwen Thsang, I would identify it with the Chaityaka of the *Mahā-ūhārata*. Regarding the other three mountains I have nothing at present to offer, but I may mention that they are also crowned with small Jain temples

The old city between the hills is described by Fa Hian to be 5 or 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ from east to west, and 7 or 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ from north to south, that is, from 24 to 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circuit. Hwen Thsang makes it 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 miles in circuit, with its greatest length from east to west. My survey of the ancient ramparts gives a circuit of 24 500 feet, or 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ th miles, which is between the two statements of the Chinese pilgrims. The greatest length is from north west to south east, so that there is no real discrepancy between the two statements as to the direction of the greatest length of the old city. Each of them must have taken his measurement from the Nekpai embankment on the east (which has been described by Major Kittoe) to some point on the north west. If taken to the Pāñch Pandu angle of the ramparts, the direction would be W N W, and the length upwards of 8 000 feet, but if taken to the temple of Torha Devi, the direction would be N N W, and the distance upwards of 9,000 feet

I have already quoted Fa Hian's statement that the "five hills form a girdle like the walls of a town". This agrees with Hwen Thsang's description, who says that "high mountains surround it on four sides, and from its *exterior* walls, which have a circuit of 150 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 25 miles. For this number I propose to read 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles, a correction which is absolutely necessary to make the statement tally with the measurements of my survey. The following are the direct distances between the hills

1	From Baibhār to Vipula	12 000 feet.
2	, Vipula to Ratna	4,500
3	, Ratna to Udaya	8 500 "
4	Udaya to Sona	7 000 "
5	„ Sona to Baibhār	9 000 "
Total		<hr/> 11 000 feet. <hr/>

This is somewhat less than eight miles ; but if the ascents and descents are taken into account, the actual length will correspond very closely with the statement of Hwen Thsang when corrected to 50 *li*. The old walls forming this exterior line of rampart are still to be seen in many places. I traced them from Vipula-giri over Ratna-giri to the Nekpai embankment, and thence onwards over Udaya-giri, and across the southern outlet of the valley to Sona-giri. At this outlet, the walls, which are still in good order, are 13 feet thick. To obtain a circuit of 25 miles, as given in Hwen Thsang's text, it would be necessary to carry these ramparts as far as Giryek on the east. As similar ramparts exist on the Giryek Hill, it is perhaps possible that Hwen Thsang intended to include it in the circuit of his outer walls. But this immense circuit would not at all agree with his statement that "high mountains surround the city on four sides," for the distant Hill of Giryek cannot in any way be said to form one of the sides of old Rājagriha.

The new town of Rājagriha is said to have been built by King *Srenika*, otherwise called *Bumbisāra*, the father of *Ajātasatru*, the contemporary of Buddha. Its foundation cannot, therefore, be placed later than 560 B. C. according to Buddhist chronology. In Hwen Thsang's time (A. D. 629—642), the outer walls had already become ruinous, but the inner walls were still standing, and occupied a circuit of 20 *li*, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. This statement corresponds tolerably well with the measurements of my survey, which make the circuit of the ramparts somewhat less than 3 miles. Buchanan calls new Rājagriha an irregular pentagon of 12,000 yards in diameter. This is clearly a misprint for 1,200 yards, which would give a circuit of 11,303 feet, or $2\frac{1}{3}$ miles ; but this was probably the interior measurement, which, according to my survey, is 13,000 feet. The plan of new Rājagriha I make out to be an irregular pentagon of one long side and four nearly equal sides, the whole circuit being 14,260 feet outside the ditches, or rather less than three miles.*

On the south side towards the hills a portion of the interior, 2,000 feet long and 1,500 feet broad, has been cut off to form a citadel. The stone walls retaining the earthen ramparts of this work are still in good order in many places.

* See Plate XIV

It is possible that this work may be of later date, as suggested by Buchanan, but I am of opinion that it was simply the citadel of the new town, and that its walls have suffered less from the effects of time, owing partly to their having been more carefully and more massively built than the less important ramparts of the town, and partly to their having been occasionally repaired as a military position by the authorities, while the repairs of the town walls were neglected as being either unnecessary or too costly.

The existing remains at Rājagriha are not numerous. The place has been occupied at different times by Musalmāns and Brahmins, by whom the Buddhist stupas and vihārs were pulled down to furnish materials for tombs, masjids, and temples. All the eminences that must once have been crowned by objects of Buddhist worship are now covered with Muhammedan graves, and all the Brahmanical temples about the hot springs have been constructed with the large bricks of Buddhist stupas. One of these last monuments can still be traced outside the south west corner of the town in a large circular hollow mound, which attracted the notice of both Buchanan and Kittoe. I examined this mound carefully, and I was satisfied that the hollow represented the original site of a stupa from which the bricks had been carried off, while the surrounding circular mound represented the mass of earth and broken brick rubbish left by the workmen. The excavated stupa at Sārnāth, near Banāras, now offers almost exactly the same appearance. According to Hwen Thsang's account, this circular hollow was the site of a stupa 60 feet in height, which was built by Asoka. Beside it there was a stone pillar 50 feet high, on which was inscribed the history of the foundation of the stupa. The pillar was surmounted by an elephant.*

On Mount Baibhār there are five modern Jain temples, besides the ruins of an old Saiva temple, of which four granite pillars, 10 feet in height, are still standing, and 50 or 60 smaller pillars are lying confusedly about. At the southern foot of the mountain, the rock has a natural scarp for about 100 yards in length, which, at the western end, has been smoothed to a height of 10 feet, in front of which the rock has been cut away to form a level terrace 90 feet in length by

upwards of 30 feet in breadth. Two caves have been excavated out of the solid rock behind; that to the west, now called the Son Bhândâr, or "Treasury of gold," being 34 feet long by 17 feet broad, and that to the east perhaps somewhat less in length, but of the same breadth. This cave has either fallen in naturally through the decay of the rock, or, which is more probable, was blown up by a zemindar in search of treasure, as related by Major Kittoe of the other cave.

The Son Bhândâr Cave has one door and one window. Inside there are no traces of seats, or of pedestals of statues, and the walls and roof are quite bare, excepting where a few scarcely legible inscriptions have been cut. There are several short inscriptions on the jambs of the doorway, as well as on the outside. In the principal inscription, which is on two lines outside, the author speaks of this cave as the "auspicious cave," evidently alluding to the fact of its former occupation by Buddha for the purpose of meditating after his noonday meal. This inscription, which is not later than A. D. 200, and is perhaps earlier, records that a certain "Muni, named Vaira Deva, of powerful dignity, was able to obtain emancipation, having shut himself up for spiritual enjoyment in this auspicious cell, a retired abode of Arhantas, fitted for an ascetic for the attainment of liberation." On the east jamb of the door also the same epithet is applied to this cave, as if it was a well known name for it. This cave is excavated in the south face of the hill, where there is a natural scarp for about one hundred yards in length. The face of the cliff at the west end has been smoothed to a height of 19 feet, in front of which the ground has been levelled to form a platform of more than 30 feet. The cave itself is 34 feet long by 17 feet broad and $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. To the east there has been a second cave, about $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 17 feet broad; but one half of the roof fell in long ago, and the cave is now filled with masses of rock and earth. The floor of this cave is on a lower level than that of the *Son Bhândâr*, but the front is in the same line. Both caves had some building or verandah in front, as there are numerous socket holes cut in the rock above the door for the reception of the ends of beams. The whole length of level clearing in front of the caves is 90 feet.

In the centre of the valley between the five hills, and in the very midst of the old city of Râjagriha, there is a ruined

brick mound 19 feet 8 inches in height, which my excavations proved to be an ancient stupa. A diminutive Jain temple called Maniār Math, stands on the top of the mound. It was built in A. D. 1780. As I expected to find a solid brick building, I sank a shaft outside the Maniār Math with the intention of inclining gradually towards the centre, but I soon found that the core of the mound was a mere mass of rubbish, filling a well 10 feet in diameter. This rubbish was so loose that its removal was dangerous, but by propping up the portion immediately below the little temple and removing the bricks cautiously, I was enabled to get down to a depth of $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At 19 feet I found three small figures. One of them represents Māyā lying on a couch in the lower compartment, and the ascetic Buddha and two attendants above. The second is a naked standing figure, with a seven-headed snake forming a canopy over the head. This is clearly not a Buddhist, but a Jain sculpture. The third is so excessively rude, that it is difficult to identify it. The figure is four armed, and is seated upon a recumbent animal, which looks more like a bull than anything else. It probably, therefore, represents Mahadeva and his bull Nandi. As all three figures formed only a part of the rubbish, it seems to me certain that the well must once have been empty and further that the rubbish was most probably thrown in when the little Jain temple was about to be built.

The natives of the place call this well the Treasury, and they assert that it has never been opened. On my arrival I found a Punjab Sepoy, with a servant, making an excavation on his own account. He had sunk a shaft 3 feet in diameter at $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the little temple. The shaft was then 17 feet deep. I examined the bricks which had been taken out, and on finding some with bevelled and rounded edges, and others thickly coated with plaster, I guessed at once that the original structure had been covered with an outer wall, and that the shaft had been sunk just outside the original work. To ascertain whether this conclusion was correct, I laid bare the top of the mound, and soon discovered that the well was surrounded by a wall only 6 feet in thickness. This would give the original stupa a diameter of 22 feet. The Punjab Sepoy continued his shaft down to the stone foundation without finding anything, and then gave up the work.

Having observed that the slope of the mound on the north side was very gentle, I thought it probable that the building must have been approached on this side by a flight of steps. I therefore made an excavation in a line due north from the centre of the mound, and within a couple of hours I found a doorway. Continuing the excavation to the east and west, as well as to the north, I found a small room with brick walls and granite pillars containing two middle-sized sculptured slabs of middle age. Outside the doorway a flight of steps led downwards towards the north, I therefore turned to the south, and continued my excavation until I reached the main building. On examining the wall I found three recesses, the middle one being roofed by overlapping bricks. On clearing out the rubbish, this opening proved to be a carefully built passage only 2 feet 2 inches wide, and 3 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, right through the outer wall of the building. Behind it, but a few inches out of line, there was a similar passage through the original wall, only 2 feet in width. At the end of the passage I found the well filled with the same rubbish as on the south side.

The discovery of this passage shows that the Buddhist Monks had easy access to the interior of the building. I conclude, therefore, that it must originally have contained some relic that was occasionally shown to visitors, and to the public generally, on certain fixed days. I cannot, however, discover in the accounts of Fa-Hian and Hwen Thsang any mention of a stupa inside the walls of old Rājagriha.

The hot springs of Rājagriha are found on both banks of the Sarsuti rivulet, one-half of them at the eastern foot of Mount Baibhâr, and the other half at the western foot of Mount Vipula. The former are named as follows 1, Gangâ-Jumna; 2, Anant Rikhi, 3, Sapt Rikhi, 4, Brahm-kûnd; 5, Kasyapa Rikhi; 6, Biās-kûnd; and 7, Markand-kûnd. The hottest of these are the springs of the Sapt Rikhi. The hot springs of Mount Vipula are named as follows 1, Sita-kûnd; 2, Suraj-kûnd; 3, Ganes-kûnd; 4, Chandrama kûnd; 5, Rām-kûnd; and 6, Sringgi-Rikhi-kûnd. The last spring has been appropriated by the Musalmâns, by whom it is called Makhdum-kûnd, after a celebrated Saint named Chilla Shâh, whose tomb is close to the spring. It is said that Chilla was originally called Chilwa, and that he was an Ahîr. He must, therefore, have been a converted Hindu.

VIII. BARAGAON OR NALANDA.

Due north from Rājgir, and seven miles distant, lies the village of Baragaon, which is quite surrounded by ancient tanks and ruined mounds, and which possesses finer and more numerous specimens of sculpture than any other place that I have visited. The ruins at Baragaon are so immense, that Dr Buchanan was convinced it must have been the usual residence of the King, and he was informed by a Jain priest at Bihār that it was the residence of Raja Srenika and his ancestors. By the Brahmans these ruins are said to be the ruins of *Kundilpur*, a city famed as the birth place of Rākmīni, one of the wives of Krishna. But as Rākmīni was the daughter of Raja Bhishma, of Vīdarbha, or Berār it seems probable that the Brahmans have mistaken Berār for Bihār, which is only seven miles distant from Baragaon. I therefore doubt the truth of this Brahmanical tradition, more especially as I can show beyond all doubt that the remains at Baragaon are the ruins of Nālanda, the most famous seat of Buddhist learning in all India.

Fa Hian places the hamlet of Nalo at one *yojan*, or 7 miles from the Hill of the Isolated Rock, that is, from Giryek, and also the same distance from new Rājagriha.* This account agrees exactly with the position of Baragaon, with respect to Giryek and Rājgir. In the Pālī annals of Ceylon also, Nālanda is stated to be one *yojan* distant from Rājagriha. Again, Hwen Thsang describes Nālanda as being 7 *yojans*, or 49 miles, distant from the holy Pipal tree at Buddha Gaya, which is correct if measured by the road, the direct distance measured on the map being 40 miles †. He also describes it as being about 30 *li*, or 5 miles, to the north of new Rājagriha. This distance and direction also correspond with the position of Baragaon, if the distance be measured from the most northerly point of the old ramparts. Lastly, in two inscriptions, which I discovered on the spot, the place itself is called Nālanda. This evidence seems conclusive, but I may add further that the existing ruins, which I am now about to describe, correspond most minutely with the descriptions of Hwen Thsang.

* Beal's Fa-Hian, c. XXVIII.

† Julien's Hwen Thsang, I, 143.

Fa-Hian calls Nālanda the birth-place of Sāriputra, who was the right hand disciple of Buddha, but this statement is not quite correct, as we learn, from the more detailed account of Hwen Thsang, that Sāriputra was born at *Kalapināka*, about half-way between *Nālanda* and *Indra-Sila Guha*, or about 4 miles to the south-east of the former place. Nālanda has also been called the birth-place of Mahā Mogalāna, who was the left hand disciple of Buddha; but this is not quite correct, as the great Mogalāna, according to Hwen Thsang, was born at *Kulika*, 8 or 9 *li*, less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, to the south-west of Nālanda. This place I was able to identify with a ruined mound near Jagdispur, at $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the south-west of the ruins of Baragaon.

The mound of Jagdispur is 200 feet square, and of little height, except in the south-east corner, where there is a considerable eminence, 70 feet square. On the southern edge of this height, there is a magnificent Nîm tree, under which several statues have been collected. One of these is the finest and largest piece of sculpture that I have met with. It is a figure of the ascetic Buddha, seated under the Bodhi tree at Buddha-Gaya, and surrounded by horrible demons and alluring females, who are seeking by different means to distract him. On each side other scenes of his life are represented, and over all his *Nirvān*, or death. A large drawing of this elaborate piece of sculpture is given by Buchanan * The slab is 15 feet high and $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad; and, considering the excellence of the sculpture, the multiplicity of the details, and the fine state of preservation, this work is in every way worthy of being preserved by photography. The figure is called Rūkmīni by the ignorant villagers, who daily smear its forehead and nose with red lead, and pour milk over the mouth. The offering of milk is considered very efficacious; but the most acceptable offering is a goat; and at the time of my visit, the ground was still wet with the blood of a recently killed goat.

The remains at Baragaon consist of numerous masses of brick ruins, amongst which the most conspicuous is a row of lofty conical mounds running north and south. These high mounds are the remains of gigantic temples attached to the famous monastery of Nālanda. The great monastery itself can be readily traced by the square patches of cultivation

* Eastern India, I, Plate XIII.

amongst a long mass of brick ruins 1,600 feet by 400 feet. These open spaces show the positions of the court-yards of the six smaller monasteries which are described by Hwen Thsang as being situated within one enclosure forming altogether eight courts. Five of the six monasteries were built by five consecutive princes of the same family, and the sixth by their successor, who is called King of Central India. No dates are given, but from the total silence of Fa Hian regarding any of the magnificent buildings at Nālanda, which are so minutely described by Hwen Thsang, I infer that they must have been built after A. D. 410. Fa Hian simply states that he came to the hamlet of Nalo, 'where Śāriputra was born,' and this is all that he says of Nālanda. But surely if the lofty temple of King Bālāditya, which was 300 feet in height, had then existed, it seems scarcely possible that he should not have noticed it. I would, therefore, assign the probable date of the temples and monasteries of Nālanda to the two centuries between the visits of Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang, or from A. D. 425 to 625. This date is further borne out by the fact recorded by Hwen Thsang, that the great temple of Bālāditya was similar to that near the sacred Pipal tree at Buddha Gaya. Now, as similarity of style may generally be taken as denoting proximity of date, the erection of Bālāditya's temple at Nālanda may, with great probability, be assigned to the same century in which the Buddha Gaya temple was built. As I have already shown this to be about A. D. 500 the date of the Nālanda temple will lie between A. D. 450 and 550.

Several inscribed stones lie scattered over the ruins of Bālāditya's monastery. The letters are only mason's marks, but their forms are those of the 6th and 7th centuries.

To the south of the monastery there was a tank in which the dragon, or Nāga Nālanda, was said to dwell, and the place was named after him Nālanda. There is still existing immediately to the south of the ruined monastery a small tank called *Kargidya Polhar*, which answers exactly to the position of the Nālanda tank, and is, I have no doubt, the identical pool of the Nāga.

As the people have no particular names for the different masses of ruin, but simply call them collectively "the mounds," I will, for convenience of description, name each of

the principal masses after the ancient tank on its western side. Other mounds will be described with reference to their relative positions with respect to the principal runs. In my survey of the ruins, I have also attached a letter of the alphabet to each separate mound.*

Hwen Thsang begins his account with a *vihār*, or temple, just outside the western wall of the monastery, which had been erected on a spot where Buddha had dwelt for three months, explaining the sublime law for the benefit of the gods. This temple I would identify with the ruined mound marked A, still 53 feet in height and from 65 to 70 feet in thickness near the top, and which is situated immediately to the westward of the ruined monastery. It stands to the east of the Pânwa tank, and may, therefore, be called the Pânwa mound. My excavations, which were carried down to a depth of 17 feet, exposed the straight walls of a temple.

To the south, at 100 paces, there was a small stupa, erected over a spot where a pious mendicant, from a far country, had performed the *pañchāṅga*, or reverence of the five members (namely head, hands, and knees) in honour of Buddha. This stupa is well represented by a small mound marked B, which is due south of the Pânwa mound.

Still further to the south, there was a statue of Avalokiteswara. As this statue must have had some kind of covering as a shelter from the weather, I believe that it is represented by another small ruined mound, marked C, immediately to the south of the last.

To the south of the statue there was a stupa, containing the hair and nails of Buddha. Sick people recovered their health by making the circuit of this monument. Another mound, marked D, to the east of the Rahela tank, corresponds with the position of this stupa exactly, as it is due south of the last mound C. It is still 20 feet high. I made an excavation in the top, which showed that the mound had been opened previously, as I found nothing but loose rubbish. The solid brick-work on all sides, however, satisfied me that it was the ruin of an ancient stupa.

* See Plate XVI

Outside the western wall of the monastery, and close to a tank, there was another stupa erected on the spot where Buddha had been questioned by a heretic on the subject of life and death. A small mound, marked E, on the east bank of the *Balen* Tank, corresponds exactly with the position of this stupa.

At a short distance to the east there was a lofty vihar, 200 feet in height, where Buddha had explained the law for four months. In the position here indicated, there stands the highest and largest of all the mounds, marked F. It is still 60 feet in height, with a diameter of 70 feet at 50 feet above the ground, and of 80 feet at 35 feet above the ground. As the outer edges of the walls are much broken, the original size of this massive building at the ground level cannot have been much less than 90 feet square. To ascertain its probable height, we may compare it with the Great Temple at Buddha Gaya, which has a base of 50 feet square, and a height of 160 feet. But as the copper gilt *amalaka* fruit which once surmounted it no longer exists, the original height cannot have been less than 170 feet. Now, taking the same proportions for the Nālanda temple, we may deduce the height by simple rule-of-three, thus as 50 170 90 306 feet. It is true that Hwen Thsang states the height at only 200 feet, but there is a discrepancy in his statements of the height of another Nālanda temple, which leads me to propose correcting the height of that now under discussion to 300 feet. In speaking of the Great Temple erected by Bālāditya, Hwen Thsang in one place makes it 200 feet high, and in another place 300 feet high *. In both accounts the enshrined statue is said to be of Buddha himself, as he appeared under the Bodhi tree and, as the other large temple also contained a statue of Buddha it seems highly probable that there has been some confusion between the accounts of the two temples.

I am quite satisfied that the lofty mound marked F is the ruin of a temple, for I discovered three horizontal air holes, each in the form of a cross, at a height of 35 feet above the ground. They measured respectively 6, $8\frac{1}{2}$ and $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length. The last measurement, coupled with the broken state of the brick work, shows that the walls must have been upwards of 12 feet in thickness. In fact, on the east side,

Compare Julien's Hwen Thsang I 167, with III, 50.

at 50 feet above the ground, the broken wall is still 15 feet thick. Most probably the walls were not less than 20 feet thick at this height, which would leave an interior chamber 30 feet square. There is now a great hollow in the centre of this mound, which I would recommend to be further excavated down to the ground level, as I think it highly probable that both statues and inscriptions of much interest would be discovered. Perhaps the colossal statue of Buddha, the teacher now standing at the foot of mound II., may have been originally enshrined in this temple *

In the north-east corner of the square terrace that surrounds this massive ruin, I found the remains of several small stupas, in dark blue stone of various sizes, from 10 to 30 feet in height. The ornamental carvings are still in good order, many of them being very elaborate. Rows after rows of Buddhas of all sizes are the most favourite decoration. The solid hemispherical domes are from 1 foot to 1 foot in diameter. The basement and body of each stupa were built of separate stones, which were numbered for the guidance of the builders, and cramped together with iron to secure greater durability. No amount of time, and not even an earthquake, could have destroyed these small buildings. Their solid walls of iron-bound stones could only have yielded to the destructive fury of malignant Brahmans. I tried to complete a single stupa, but I soon found that several pieces were missing. I believe, however, that a complete one might be obtained by a careful search about the village temples, around the Jain temple, and in the small court-yard opposite Mitrajit's house. If one could be obtained complete, or nearly so, it would form a most striking and ornamental addition to the Calcutta Museum.

* This mound was subsequently excavated by order of Government under the superintendence of Captain Marshall. The temple stood on a plinth 12 feet high above the ground level, forming a terrace 15 feet wide all round. The inner room is 20 feet square, with an entrance hall on the east side. The walls, which are of extreme thickness, are built of large bricks laid in mud. There are few remains of plaster, but the lower walls appear to be sound, but externally they are much cracked. The remains of the pedestal occupy nearly the whole west half of the inner room, but there were no traces of any statues. Pieces of broken statues were, however, found in the entrance hall. A portion of the entrance is of more modern date, the same as at Bodh Gaya. Captain Marshall closes his account of the explorations with the following opinion, which seems to be well founded: "The general appearance of the building, *viz*, the false doorway, the abstraction of the idols, and the absence of inside plaster, all give me the notion of the building having been made use of after the glories of the temple had passed away, and then to have fallen to pieces by neglect and consequent decay."

A short distance to the north of the Great Vihâr, there was another temple containing a statue of the Bodhisatwa *Avalokitesvara*. This Saint is the same as the *Padma-pâni* of the Tibetans, and is always represented with a lotus in his hand. An extensive low mound, marked G, immediately to the north of the great mound, corresponds exactly with the situation of this temple.

To the north of the last temple there was a grand vihâr, built by Bâlâditya, containing a statue of the ascetic Buddha. The height, as I have already noticed, is differently stated by Hwen Thsang at 200 and 300 feet. The lesser height I believe to be the correct one, more especially as Hwen Thsang mentions that in its magnificence its *size*, and its statue of Buddha, it resembled the Great Temple at Buddha Gaya. As this last was 170 feet in height, Bâlâditya's Vihâr might very fairly be said to resemble it in *size*, if it was 200 feet high, but if it was 300 feet in height, there could have been no resemblance whatever in the dimensions of a temple that was nearly twice as lofty. A mound, marked H, to the east of the Dehar Tank, corresponds exactly with the situation of this temple. It is still 45 feet in height with a breadth of 50 feet at top from edge to edge of brick work. As the facing has disappeared on all sides, the original breadth, at the ground level, could not have been less than 60 feet, and if the relative proportions were the same as those of the Buddha Gaya Temple, the height of this temple must have been 204 feet, or say, in round numbers 200 feet exactly as stated by Hwen Thsang. There is a colossal statue of the ascetic Buddha in a small court yard called Baithak Bhairav at the foot of this mound, which in all probability, was the original statue enshrined in Bâlâditya's Vihâr.

Four other buildings and statues, which I have been unable to identify, are next mentioned by Hwen Thsang who then goes on to describe a brick vihâr containing a very lofty copper statue of Tara Bodhisatwa. This was situated at 2 or 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ to the north of the monastery, that is, between one third and one-half of a mile. Now, at a distance of 2,000 feet to the north of the monastery, and to the east of the Suraj Pokhar, there is a brick ruin of a very large temple, marked N. From its close proximity to the village, this ruin has supplied materials for all the existing houses, and is

consequently of much smaller dimensions than those which have been already described. But the removal of the bricks has exposed the actual walls of the temple in several places; and, by making a few excavations, I was able to determine the exact dimensions of the base of this temple. It was $70\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 67 feet, and it stood on a raised terrace 6 feet in height and 125 feet square. If the relative proportion of base to height was the same as that of the Buddha-Gaya Temple, the height of this temple could not have been less than 228 or 240 feet, according to which side of the base is taken for the calculation.

Hwen Thsang also mentions a large well which was just within the gateway on the south side of the surrounding walls of this vihâr. Now, there is a large well, marked P., immediately on the south side of the ruined mound above described, which must be the very one noticed by Hwen Thsang as having owed its origin to Buddha himself.

There are many other objects worthy of notice at Baragaon, which I can only briefly enumerate. 1st, The sculptures collected in the enclosure at Baithak Bhairav, marked M. 2nd, The colossal figure of the ascetic Buddha at S. This statue is remarkable for having the names of the attendant figures inscribed over their heads. Thus we have *Arya Sâriputra* and *Arya Maudgalâya* inscribed over two flying figures carrying garlands, and *Arya Mitreyanâtha* and *Arya Vasumitra* over two attendant standing figures. An inscription in two lines on the back rail of the seat gives the usual Buddhist formula, and adds that the statue was "the pious gift of *Ganggakâ* (a lady who had attained the religious rank of *paramopâsikâ*)". This statue is well worthy of being photographed. 3rd, A small temple, marked T, with a figure of the three-headed goddess *Vajra-Varâhi*. The Buddhist formula is inscribed on this figure, which is evidently one of those mistaken by Major Kitchie for Durgâ slaying the buffalo demon Maheshasur. The goddess has one porcine head, and there are seven hogs represented on the pedestal. 4th, A life-size ascetic Buddha in the village of Baragaon, and a number of smaller figures at an adjacent Hindu temple, and also at the house of Mitrajit Zamindar. 5th, Two low mounds to the north of the village marked V, one having a four-armed image of Vishnu on Garud, and the

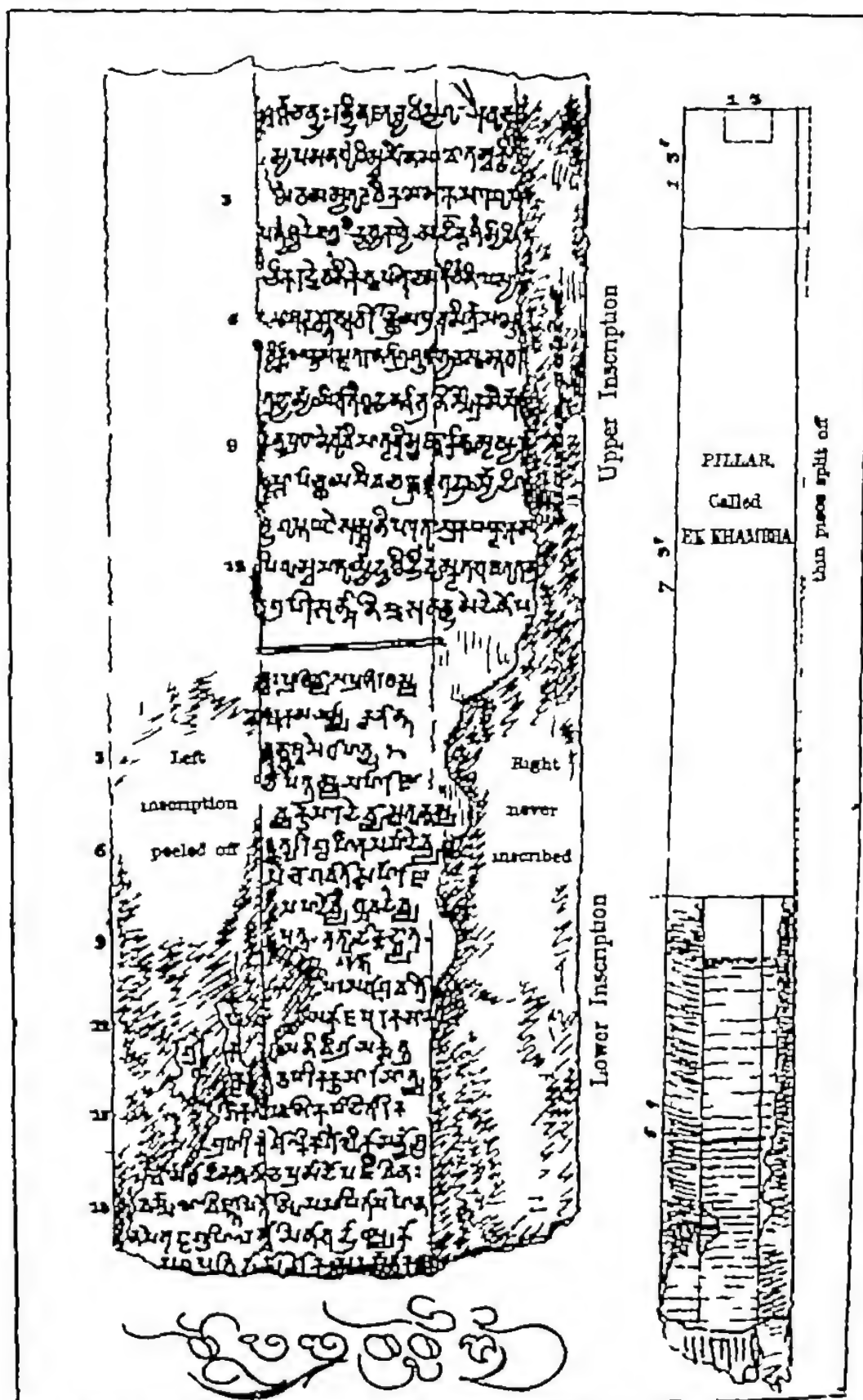
other having two figures of Buddha seated on chairs. The former must clearly have belonged to a Brahmanical temple. 6th, Three statues at W, near the Târ Sing Tank, of which two are females and one a male figure seated with hands on knees. 7th, The small temple in the hamlet of Kapatîya, marked X, where there are several interesting figures collected. Amongst them there is a fine Vajrâ Varâhi and a very good Vâgiswarî, with an important inscription in two lines, which gives the name of the place Nâlanda, and is dated in the year 1 of the reign of the paramount sovereign Sri Gopâla Deva *. 8th, A large mound at Y, which looked like a ruined stupa. I sank a shaft 20 feet deep in the centre of the mound, and found that it was filled with rubbish. If, therefore, it was a stupa, it had been opened long before but I am inclined to believe that it was a temple as a large stone was found in the excavation at a depth of 18 feet. 9th, A Jain temple at Z, which is only remarkable as being of the same style of architecture as the Great Temple at Buddha Gaya. It is probably of about the same age, or A. D. 500. Its present height is only 36 feet without the pinnacle, which is modern. The whole is white-washed. Inside the temple there are several Jain figures, of which that of *Mahâvir* bears the date of Samvat 1504, or A. D. 1447. 10th, On the banks of the Suraj kûnd many interesting figures are collected. They are chiefly Buddhist, but there are also some figures of Vishnu four armed, of the Varâha Avatâr, of Siva and Pârvati, and also of Surya himself.

I cannot close this account of the ancient Nâlanda without mentioning the noble tanks which surround the ruins on all sides. To the north-east are the Gidî Pokhar and the Pansokar Pokhar each nearly a mile in length, while to the south there is the Indra Pokhar, which is nearly half a mile in length. The remaining tanks are much smaller in size, and do not require any special notice.

IX BIHAR

The old city of Bihâr lies 7 miles to the north-east of Baragaon. In our maps the name is spelt *Behar*, but by the people it is written *Bihâr*, which is sufficient to show that it

* See Plate XIII for a copy of this inscription.



A. Cunningham del

Photographed by the Survey of India Office Calcutta

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE BIHAR PILLAR

must once have been the site of some famous Buddhist Vihâr. But the only existing Buddhist remains that I could find were votive stupas and fragments of figures. One of the last was inscribed with characters of about A. D. 900, but the inscription is unfortunately only a fragment.

The city of Bihâr consists principally of one long narrow street, paved with rough stones. There are two bridges with pointed arches over some irrigation canals, the remains of former prosperity; but the whole place is now dirty and decayed. In all directions are seen Musalmân tombs; the smaller ones of brick, the larger ones of squared and carved stones from the usual Muhammadan quarries of ruined Buddhist or Brahmanical buildings. To the north-west of the city there is a long isolated hill, having a precipitously steep cliff on its northern face, and on the southern face an easy slope in successive ledges of rock. The hill is now crowned by some Musalmân buildings, of which the largest is said to be the tomb of Malik Bayâ, but I believe that it is the tomb of one Ibrahim in the reign of Firuz, as I read both of these names in one of the inscriptions. To the north-east of these tombs and distant 1,000 feet, on the highest point of the hill, there is a square platform of brick, which must once have been the basement of a building, perhaps of a stupa, while the more genial site of the Durgâh, where fine trees are now growing, might once have held a Buddhist Vihâr and its attendant monastery.

One mile due east from the Durgâh, and about 100 yards inside the northern gate of the old fort of Bihâr, there lies a sand-stone pillar which bears two separate inscriptions of the Gupta Dynasty. Unfortunately, the surface of the stone has peeled off considerably, so that both of the inscriptions are incomplete. The upper inscription, which is of Kumâra Gupta, has lost both ends of every line, being probably about one-third of the whole. The lower inscription has lost only the left upper corner, and some unknown amount at the bottom, where the pillar is broken off. But as the remaining portion of the *upper* part is letter for letter the same as the opening of the Bhitari pillar inscription, nearly the whole of the missing part of the left *upper* corner can be restored at

once * This record apparently belongs to Skanda Gupta, the son and successor of Kumāra Gupta, as the genealogy is continued beyond Kumāra in the same words as in the Bhitari inscription.

Outside the northern gate of the old fort, there are some tombs that are said to belong to Christians, as they lie east and west, whilst all Musalmān tombs lie north and south. One of them bears an inscription surmounted by a cross which proves it to be a Christian tomb. The inscription I believe to be in the Armenian character, but though it does not appear to be old, probably not more than fifty or a hundred years, yet I could not obtain any information regarding the tombs.

The cyclopean walls of the old fort are very curious, but as the fort has been fully described by Buchanan, it is unnecessary for me to do more than make this mention of it.

X GHOSRAWA

A Buddhistical inscription from Ghosrāwā, a village to the S S W of Bihār, distant 7 miles, was first discovered by Major Kittoe, who published a translation of it made by Dr Ballantyne. This inscription is a very important one for the illustration of the later history of Buddhism, as it mentions the existence, somewhere about the 8th or 9th century, of several of the most famous places of the Buddhists. For instance, it mentions 1st, the Kanishka Monastery in the city of Nagarabāra, close to Jelalabad in the Kabul Valley, 2nd, the *Vajrāsana*, or Diamond throne of Buddha, at Buddha Gaya, 3rd, the *Indra Sila* peak which I have already identified with Giryek. 4th, the Vihār in Nālanda, the city of Yaso Varmma. This part of the translation, however, requires revision, as the name of Nālanda, which occurs twice, has in both instances been rendered as if it was merely a term for some ascetic posture instead of the proper name of the

See Plate XVII. for the Bihār Pillar Inscriptions, and Plate XXVII. for the Bhitari Pillar Inscription. Babu Rajendralal Mitra, in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal 1866 p. 271 denies the accuracy of my statement. He says "General Cunningham imagines it to be a counterpart of the Bhitari record—I imagine nothing of the kind. My remarks refer to the upper part of the inscription alone, and this I again assert to be 'letter for letter the same as the opening of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription.' The Babu says that 'no specific name is legible.'" I refer him to his own Nāgarī transcript of line 4 where he reads *Indra-potrasya*. This should be *Kuchka*, for Ghatot Kacha the predecessor of Chandra Gupta, whose wife Kumāri Devi is mentioned in the next line.

town which contained the most famous monastery in all India. I will submit this inscription for re-translation.

The other remains at Ghosrāwā are few and unimportant. There is a mound of brick ruin touching the village, and a small temple on a low mound with some broken figures between Ghosrāwā and the small village of Asanagar. The inscription obtained by Major Kittoe is now fixed in the wall of this temple. At the western foot of the Ghosrāwā mound there is a four-armed standing male statue of life size, inscribed with the usual formula of the Buddhist faith. In the upper right hand there is a necklace, but the lower hand is open, the upper left hand holds a lotus, and the lower hand a bell. There is a small figure of Buddha in the head dress of the statue, from which I believe that this figure represents Avalokiteswara, as Hwen Thsang describes a similar statue at the Kapotika Sangharāma. The characters of the inscription do not seem to me to be later than A. D. 800.

On the top of the mound I found the lower portion of a female figure, of which the upper part was fixed in the ground near the Asanagar Temple. The statue is two-armed, and holds a lotus in one hand. It probably represents Dharmma. There are two four-armed female attendants, that to the left carrying a human head.

XI. TITARĀWĀ.

At Titarāwā, 2 miles to the north of Ghosrāwā, there is a fine large tank 1,200 feet in length, with a considerable mound of brick ruin to the north, and a colossal statue of the ascetic Buddha to the south, which is now called Bhairav. The pedestal is 7 feet broad, and the whole figure is still 9 feet high, although the upper portion is wanting. The usual Buddhist formula is inscribed on the lotus leaves of the pedestal. There are besides several others small and unimportant, one of which bears the Buddhist formula, and another inscription in three lines of small letters. The greater portion of this inscription is injured, but sufficient remains to declare the date of the statue, which I believe to be about A. D. 800; I can read the name of Mahāpāla at the end of it. On the west side of the statue there is the foundation of a brick stupa, 18 feet in diameter.

The mound of Titarāwa is about 20 feet high, and has a small modern fort on the top, with a round tower at each of the angles. Excavations for bricks are still going on, as at the period of Major Kittoe's visit. I traced the remains of several walls, from which I infer that the mound was the site of a large monastery. There is no mention of this place either in Fa Hian or Hwen Thsang.

XII APHSAR

Five miles to the east of Ghosrāwā, and on the eastern bank of the Sakri River, there is a low hill covered with brick ruins, close to a village called Apsar. The long and important inscription of a second dynasty of Guptas, that was discovered at this place by Major Kittoe, is no longer to be found at Apsar. The people are unanimous in stating that Major Kittoe removed it to Nowāda for the purpose of copying it, and he himself states that he "brought it away to re-examine it, and to restore it as much as possible before having it fixed in a pedestal near the Varāha" in Apsar. I enquired for this inscription at Nowāda, at Gaya, and at Banāras, but could not hear any thing of it. The loss of this important inscription is very much to be regretted, but luckily I possess a transcript of it in modern Nagari, which Major Kittoe himself gave me in 1850. This has been submitted to Bābu Rajendralal Mitra for translation.*

XIII. BARABAR

At 16 miles to the north of Gaya, or 19 miles by the road, there are several groups of granite hills, called *Kauca Dol*, *Barābar*, *Nagāryuni*, and *Dharāwat*†. All of these possess some Buddhist remains, but the most interesting are the caves of *Barābar* and *Nagāryuni*, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two thousand years ago.

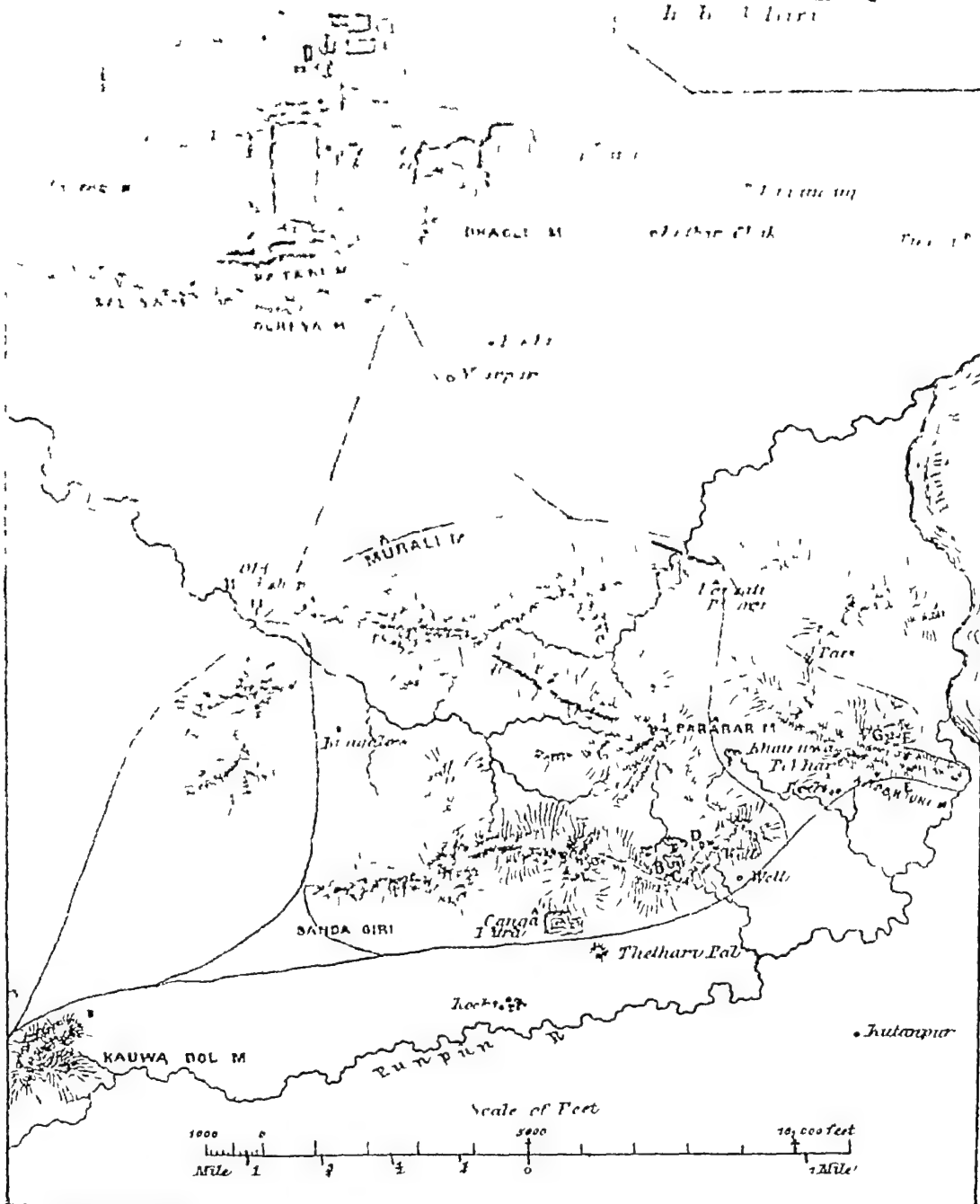
Kauca Dol is a detached hill nearly one mile to the south west of the main group of hills, and just six miles

The Bābu translation will be found in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1866, p. 272. The inscription gives the genealogy of a dynasty of nine Gupta Kings. There is apparently nothing to guide us in fixing the date; and, in the absence of the original document, I can only conjecture that these Guptas are of later date than the well-known Gupta dynasty of the Allahabad and Bhitari Pillar inscriptions. I possess gold coins of three later Princes, Vishnu, Kumāra, and Jaya, who probably belonged to the family of the Apsar record.

† See Plate XVIII.

RIFFINOLS

- A. K. r. Clap. i. Cui
- B. S. l. a. Cui
- C. I. l. h. i. Cui
- D. l. e. i. Cui
- E. S. l. i. Cui or Gopur
- F. l. p. l. u. e. i. Cui
- G. l. i. h. i. Cui
- H. l. i. Cui



to the east-north-east of the Bela Dâk Bungalow. This hill is quite inaccessible, as it is formed entirely of huge masses of granite piled precipitously above one another, and crowned with a single lofty block that frowns grandly over the plains below. It is said that this pinnacle was formerly topped by another block, which was so nicely balanced that it used to rock even when a crow alighted upon it. From this belief the hill acquired the name of *Kauwa-Dol*, or the "crow's swing," or "rocking-stone."

At the northern foot of the Kauwa-Dol there has formerly been a temple of hewn granite. A large village must also once have existed on the north and east sides of the hill, as the foot of the hill, which is considerably raised above the fields, is strewn with broken bricks, hewn stones, and fragments of pottery. There are several Muhammedan tombs on this mound, built chiefly of pillars and other squared and ornamented stones of some Hindu temple. The name of this old place is said to have been *Samanpur*. Major Kittoe, however, was told that this name applied only to the northern portion of the ruins, the eastern portion being called *Saran*.

On the rocks of the northern face of the hill, numerous rude figures have been sculptured. One of these is a figure of Ganes, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, beside a lingam. Several of them represent *Gauri Sankar* or *Hara Gauri*; but the most common of these sculptures is the favourite figure of the four-armed Durgâ slaying the *Mahesasur*, or Buffalo Demon. In her two right hands she holds a sword and a trident, and in her upper left hand a shield, while her lower left hand grasps the tail of the Buffalo. All of these are Brahmanical figures; but there are also rude figures of Buddha seated, and one female figure which is said to be *Padmavati*, or *Mâyâ Devi*, but which is most probably only a representation of *Dharmma*. In a recess on the east side of the hill, and amidst the ruins of a large temple, of which several pillars are still standing, there is a colossal figure of Buddha the ascetic, as he appeared when seated in mental abstraction under the Bodhi tree at Buddha-Gaya. A drawing of this figure has been given in Buchanan Hamilton's *Eastern India*.* It is the largest statue that I have seen, the figure

* Vol I, Plate XIV, Fig 5

alone being 8 feet high, with a breadth across the shoulders of four feet, and of six feet across the knees. But the great statue in the temple of Buddha Gaya, which was seen and described by Hwen Thsang, was somewhat more than one-third larger, its dimensions being 11 feet 5 inches in height, 8 feet 8 inches in breadth across the knees, and 6 feet 6 inches across the shoulders.

In the Barâbar group of hills there are several distinct peaks, of which the most conspicuous are the *Murali* Peak to the north, and the *Sanda Giri* on the south, both of which join the Barâbar or *Siddheswara* Peak on the east. On the summit of the Barâbar Peak there is a small Hindu temple dedicated to Mahâdeva, which contains a lingam called Siddheswara, and which, from an inscription in one of the caves mentioning this name, we know to be at least as old as the 6th or 7th century. Immediately to the south of the Barâbar Peak there lies a small valley or basin, nearly square in shape, and entirely surrounded by hills, except at two points on the north-east and south-east, where walls have been built to complete the enclosure. Its greatest length, measured diagonally from peak to peak is just half a mile, but the actual basin is not more than 400 yards in length by 250 yards in breadth.*

Towards the southern corner of the basin, there are two small sheets of clear water, which find an outlet under ground to the south-east and re-appear in the sacred spring called *Pâtâl Gangâ* where an annual assembly is held in the month of *Bhâdrapada* for the purpose of bathing. On this side is the principal entrance to the valley, which lies over large rounded masses of granite, now worn smooth and slippery by the feet of numerous pilgrims. I ascended by this path without any difficulty, after having taken off my shoes but in descending I found a shorter and quicker way down the mass of loose rough stones at the foot of the enclosure wall on the same side. These stones are the ruins of buildings which once crowned the wall on this side.

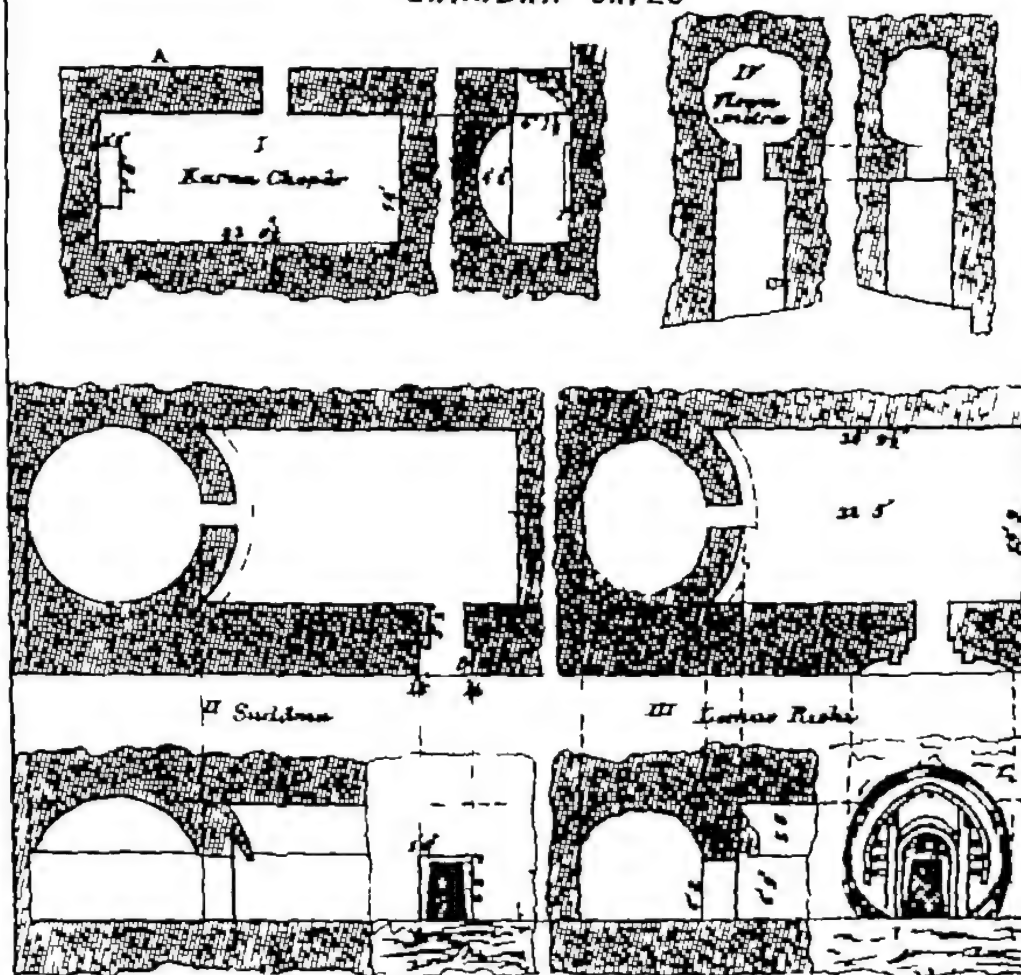
Immediately to the south of the water, and in the southern angle of the valley, there is a low ridge of granite rock lying from west to east, about 500 feet long, from 100 to 120

* See Plate XXXIII

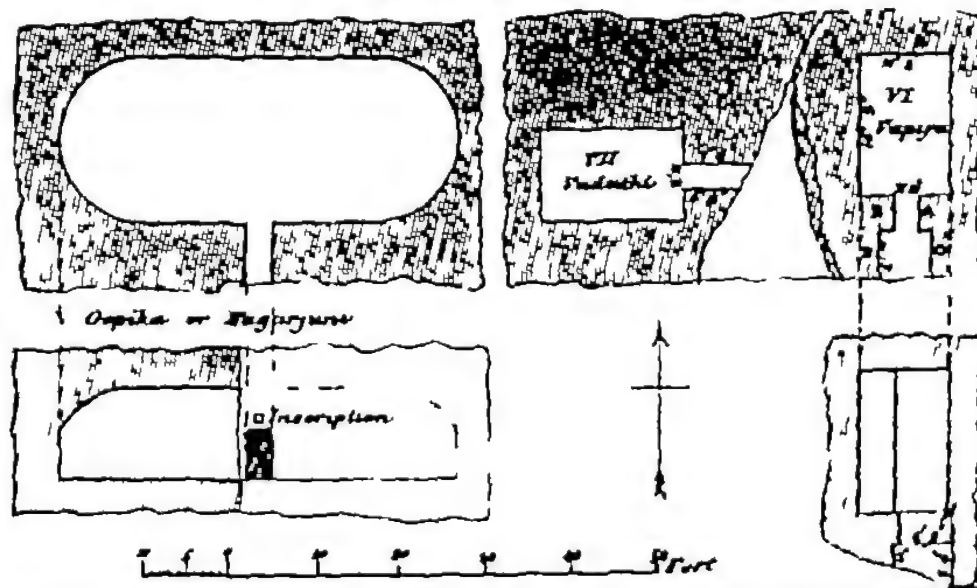
feet thick, and from 30 to 35 feet in height. The top of the ridge is rounded, and falls rapidly towards the east. It is divided longitudinally by natural cleavage into three separate masses. The block towards the north is much the smallest, being not more than 50 feet long by 27 feet in thickness. Originally it was probably about 80 or 100 feet in length, but its eastern end has been cut away to obtain access to the face of the central mass of rock, in which the *Karna-Chopár* Cave has been excavated. A lingam and two rude Brahmanical figures are sculptured on the end of the northern rock. The middle rock is between 200 and 300 feet in length, with a perpendicular face towards the north. The largest mass of rock which faces towards the south is rounded at top, but the lower part has been scarped to form a perpendicular wall for the two large caves now called *Sudāma* and *Lomas Rishi*. A level piece of ground, about 100 feet in width, intervenes between this great rock and the foot of the southern hill. Sheds and temporary buildings are erected on this spot during the annual fair time, when the caves are visited by thousands of pilgrims. The ground is strewn with broken bricks and fragments of pottery, and the rubbish has now accumulated to a height of three feet above the floors of the caves. This will account for the fact of there having been one foot of water in this cave when visited by Buchanan. The water was drained away by Major Kittoe, who dug a trench along the foot of the rock, and brought to light several pieces of stone pillars which probably belonged to some portico or cloister in front of the caves.

The Barâbar Basin is naturally a strong defensive position, as it possesses plenty of water, and is only accessible at two points, on the north-east and south-east. Now, both of these points have been closed by walls, and as there are also traces of walls on the surrounding hills, and more particularly on the Siddheswara Hill, it seems certain that the place must once have been used as a stronghold. There is indeed a tradition of some Raja having been besieged in this place, and that he escaped by the narrow passage over the Siddheswara Hill. Its very name of Barâbar, that is, *bara* and *awara*, or *Barawara*, the "great enclosure," points to the same conclusion, although this may have been originally applied to the much larger

BARABAR CAVES



NAGARJUNI CAVES



to the four caves with seven chambers in the Barâbar group. It is true, indeed, that the Barâbar caves are somewhat older than those of Nâgârjunî, but the difference of date is very little, being not more than 30 years, as will be shown when I come to speak of the inscriptions.

The *Karna Chopâr* Cave, marked A. in the map, is situated in the northern face of the Barâbar ridge of granite, which has already been described. The entrance, which is of Egyptian form, faces the north. The cave is 33 feet 6½ inches in length, by 14 feet in width *. The sides of the cave are 6 feet 1½ inch in height, and the vaulted roof has a rise of 4 feet 8 inches, making the total height 10 feet 9 inches. At the western end there is a raised platform 7 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches broad, and 1 foot 3 inches high. From its length I infer that this was the pedestal of a statue. The whole of the interior of the cave is polished. On the outside, and at the western corner of the entrance, there is a sunken tablet containing a short inscription of five lines in the ancient character of Asoka's Pillars. It records the excavation of the cave in the 19th year of the reign of Raja *Piyadasî*, that is, of Asoka himself †. This cave, therefore, dates as far back as 245 B. C. The inscription has been so much injured by the weather, that it is very difficult to make out the letters satisfactorily. It also faces the north, so that no advantage can be obtained from the difference of light and shade which is caused by the sun in the hollows of the letters of such inscriptions as face in other directions. There are also several short inscriptions on the jambs of the doorway, such as *Bodhimula* "the root of Intelligence," *Daridra kântâra* "the cave of the poor," or "the mendicant's cave," and others the records of mere visitors.

The *Sudâma* Cave, marked B. in the map, is situated in the same granite range, but on the opposite side of it, and with its entrance facing the south. The doorway, which is of Egyptian form, is sunk in a recess 6½ feet square and 2 feet deep. On the eastern wall of this recess or porch, there is an inscription of two lines in the ancient Pali characters of Asoka's Pillars. An attempt has been made to obliterate the greater part of this inscription with a chisel,

* See Plate XIX, Fig. 1, for plan and section

† See Plate XX, No. 1 Inscription

but owing to the great depth of the letters the work of destruction was not an easy one, and the clearly cut lines of the original letters, with the exception of one, perhaps, at the end, are still distinctly traceable in the midst of the rough holes made by the destroyer's chisel. This inscription records the dedication by *Raja Piyadasi* (that is, Asoka himself), in the 12th year of his reign, of the *Nigoha* cave.* The excavation of this cave, therefore, dates as far back as 252 B. C., the very same year in which many of Asoka's edicts were promulgated, as recorded in his different inscriptions both on pillars and rocks. The cave itself consists of two chambers, of which the inner one is nearly circular with a hemispherical domed roof. This roof, which projects beyond the wall of the circular room into the outer apartment, is considerably under cut, as if to represent a thatch with its overhanging eaves. The circular room is 19 feet 11 inches in diameter from west to east, and 19 feet from north to south. The outer apartment is 32 feet 9 inches in length, by 19 feet 6 inches in breadth. The walls are 6 feet 9 inches in height to the springing of the vaulted roof, which has a rise of 5 feet 6 inches, making the total height of the chamber 12 feet 3 inches. At the east end of this apartment there is a shallow recess which may have been intended as a niche for a statue, or more probably as an entrance to another projected chamber. But the work was abandoned soon after its commencement, and remains rough and unfinished while all the rest of the cave, both roof and walls, is highly polished †

The *Lomas Rishi* Cave, marked C in the map, is similar to the *Sudāma* Cave, both as to the size and arrangement of its two chambers, but the whole of the interior of the circular room has been left rough, and both the floor and the roof of the outer apartment remain unfinished ‡. The straight walls of this apartment are polished, but the outer wall of the circular room is only smoothed and not polished. The chisel marks are yet visible on the floor, while on the roof, which has only been partially hewn the cuts of the chisels, both broad and narrow are still sharp and distinct. The excavation of the roof would appear to have been abandoned, owing

* See Plat. XX., No. 2 Inscription.

† See Plate XIX., F. 2.

‡ See Plate XIX., F. 3.

NĀGĀRJUNI CAVES

IV Gopika or Nāgārjuni

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति

V Vapiya, or Well Cave

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति

VI Vadathu Cave

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति

BARABAR CAVES

I Karna Chopār at A

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति

II Sudama at B

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति

III Viswamitra at D

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं भवति

II शारदा श्री दशवक्त्र Nāgarjuna Ca.

VIII शारदाश्रीदशवक्त्र प्रलयनिरिषेय

A ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय B मदीकरनाथ
C विदेनवमश्रुतिः D श्रीकर्मसाक्षिणे गी ३ सुक्तं
E ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय F श्रीगुणवर्ध
G ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय H श्रीविष्णु
I ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय J श्रीविष्णु
K ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय L श्रीविष्णु
M ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय N श्रीविष्णु
O ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय P श्रीविष्णु
Q ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय R श्रीविष्णु
S ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय T श्रीविष्णु
U ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय V श्रीविष्णु
W ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय X श्रीविष्णु
Y ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय Z श्रीविष्णु

to the work having reached a deep fissure, which forms one of the natural lines of cleavage of the rock. It possesses no inscription.

The door-way of this cave is exactly of the same size and of the same Egyptian form as that of the Sudâma Cave, but the entrance porch has been much enlarged, and has been sculptured to represent what I believe to be the ornamental entrance of a wooden building. A tolerably faithful sketch of this entrance will be found in Buchanan,* but owing to the accumulation of rubbish at the time the sketch was taken, the full height of the work is not shown. The inscriptions also are represented as extending below the top of the door-way on one side, which is not the case, as they are all confined to the semi-circular space above the door. This sketch, however, shows distinctly the ends of the roofing beams and the bambu lattice work of the gable, just such as may still be seen in the wooden buildings of Barmah.

As the inscriptions over the door-way of this cave are all in the same character as those of the later princes of the Gupta dynasty, the date of this sculptured façade may be assigned to the 3rd or 4th century of our era. But as the cave itself corresponds so exactly, both in size and in arrangements, with the Sudâma Cave, I feel satisfied that it must have been excavated at the same time, and that, before the enlargement of the entrance porch, there must have existed an inscription of Asoka, recording the name and purpose of the cave. The present inscriptions are deeply and boldly cut, but the letters are not polished. There are two distinct inscriptions, the upper one, of two lines, being somewhat later in date than the lower one, of four lines, in rather larger letters. Both of these inscriptions have been translated by James Prinsep,† who, owing perhaps to the misplacement of the lines of his *fac-similis*, did not perceive that translations of both had already been published by Wilkins in the second volume of the Asiatic Researches. There is some variation in the two versions of these inscriptions, which will be examined hereafter.

The fourth cave of the Barâbar group is that which is called *Visva Mitra* by Major Kittoe, but which was named

* Eastern India, Vol I, p 104

† Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal 1837 p. 617

simply *Viswa-jhopri*, or "Viswa's hut," by my informants. This cave, marked D in the map, is excavated in a large block of granite lying to the eastward of the cave ridge and at a somewhat lower level. It consists of two rooms, an outer apartment or ante-chamber which is polished throughout, and an inner apartment of 11 feet in diameter, which is rough and unfinished. The former is 14 feet long by 8 feet 4 inches broad, and has an inscription on the right hand wall of four lines in the ancient Pali character of Asoka's inscriptions. The last five letters have been purposely mutilated with the chisel, but they are still quite legible.* The inscription, which is otherwise perfect, records the dedication of the cave by Raja *Piyadasa* (that is, Asoka himself,) in the 12th year of his reign, equivalent to 252 B. C. This is the only inscription in this cave which would seem to have escaped the notice of the Brahmanical occupants or visitors of the other caves. On the floor of this outer chamber there are four oblong socket holes, which would appear to have been intended for the reception of timber framing, as suggested by Major Kitto.

The great cave in the Nāgarjuna Hill, marked E in the map, is excavated in the southern face of the rock, at a height of 50 feet above the country. It is approached by a flight of stone steps, but the entrance is concealed partly by a tree and partly by an *Idgah* wall, which was built by the last Musalmān occupants. It was inhabited when visited by Major Kitto in 1847, but was empty when I saw it. This cave is 46 feet 5 inches long and 10 feet 2 inches broad, both ends being semi-circular. The walls are 6 feet 6 inches high, and the vaulted roof has a rise of 4 feet, making a total height of 10 feet 6 inches†. The whole of the interior is polished but quite plain. There is a low brick platform of modern date at one end, which is said to have been the seat of a Musalmān Saint, who was the disciple and successor of Hajī *Harmāyan*. The door way of the cave is of Egyptian form, being two feet 6 inches wide at top, and 2 feet 11½ inches at bottom, with a height of 6 feet and half an inch. On the eastern jamb of the door way there is an inscription in ten lines of the same family and same date as those over the door way of the Lomas Rishi

* See Plate XX., No. 3 Inscription.

† See Plate XIX., Fig. 5.

Cave This inscription has been translated by Wilkins and by James Prinsep.* On the western jamb of the door there is a short inscription in large letters of the 7th or 8th century. *Achârya Sri Yogananda*, "the teacher Sri Yogananda," whose name will be found repeated in another cave.†

On the outside, immediately over the door-way, there is a small sunken tablet, containing a short inscription of four lines in the ancient Pali characters of Asoka's edicts. This has been translated by James Prinsep.‡ The cave is called *Gopi-ka-kubha*, that is, the "Gopi's or milkmaid's Cave." The inscription records that "The Gopi's Cave, an abode lasting as the Sun and Moon, was caused to be excavated by *Dasaratha*, beloved of the Devas, on his accession to the throne, as a hermitage for the most devoted *Bhadantas* (Buddhist ascetics)."[§]

The other two caves of the Nâgârjuni Group are situated in a low rocky ridge on the northern side of the hill. To the south, and in front of the caves, there are two raised terraces. The lower one to the eastward has a well, 9 feet in diameter and 23 feet deep, immediately in front of the entrance to the eastern cave, which in the inscription is called the "*Vapiya-ka-kubha*, or "Vapiya Cave," which I believe refers to the well (*vapi*) above described, and which may, therefore, be translated as the "Well Cave." The upper terrace to the westward is 120 feet long from north to south, 60 feet broad from west to east, and 10 feet in height above the plain. The walls are chiefly of brick, but there are several squared stones and granite pillars near the top. These must, I think, have been added afterwards by the Muhammedans when they occupied the caves, for the platform is covered with their small tombs. All around there are heaps of bricks and fragments of carved and squared stones which show that several buildings must once have existed in this place. The upper platform I believe to have been the site of a *vihâr* or Buddhist chapel monastery, but there is nothing now remaining to prove any Buddhist occupation, excepting only one fragment of a standing statue.

* See Asiatic Researches, I, 282, and Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1837, p. 672

† See Plate XX, No. 7 Inscription

‡ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1837, p. 677

§ See Plate XX, No. 6 Inscription

The *Vapiya* Cave, marked F in the map, has a small porch or ante-chamber, 6 feet long by $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, from which a door way only 2 feet 10 inches wide leads to the principal room, which is 16 feet 9 inches long and 11 feet 8 inches broad. The roof is vaulted, and 10 feet 6 inches in total height. The whole of the walls are highly polished. On the left hand side of the porch there is an inscription of four lines in the old Pali characters of Asoka's edicts*. In this record the cave is called, as already mentioned the *Vapiya-ka kubha*, or "the Well Cave" in evident allusion to the well in front of it. The remainder of the inscription is word for word the same as that of the Gopi's Cave. There are several short inscriptions on the side walls of the porch and on the jambs of the door way, but they are of little interest, as they merely record the names of visitors. The longest of them reads—

Acharya Sri Yogananda pranamati Siddheswara, "The teacher Sri Yogananda offers adoration to Siddheswara"†. In this inscription we find the name of the *lingam* now existing in the temple of the Barabar Peak, recorded in characters of the 6th or 7th century. James Prinsep refers them to the 6th century. A still older inscription, *Videsa Vasusya Kintih*, or "the renown of Vasu of Videsa," belongs to the age of the Guptas. According to Buchanan, this cave is called *Mirza Mandar*, or the "Mirza's house."

The third cave of the Nāgārjunī Group, marked G in the map, is situated immediately to the westward of the last cave, in a gap or natural cleft of the rock, which has probably been enlarged by art. The entrance to the cave lies in this gap facing the east. It is a mere passage, only 2 feet 10 inches in width and 6 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in height, with a length of 7 feet 2 inches on the northern side, and of 5 feet 9 inches on the southern side. There are socket holes both above and below for the reception of a wooden door. The cave itself is 16 feet 4 inches by 4 feet 3 inches, but it has been divided into two rooms by a rude brick wall. This must have been the work of some ascetic of former days as the only opening to the inner room appears to be too small for the passage of any grown up man, and could only have

See Plate XX., No. 5 Inscription, and Plate XIX., Fig. 6, for plan.

† See Plat. XX., No. 8 Inscription.

been used by the occupant for the reception of food. On the right hand jamb of the door-way there is an inscription of four lines in the old Pali characters of Asoka's edicts, in which this cave is called the *Vadathi-kā-kubha*. The remainder of the record is letter for letter the same as those of the *Gopi* and *Vapiya* Caves. The meaning of the name of *Vadathi* I am not able to explain. The root *vada* means to separate or divide, to surround or encompass, and also to cover. Any one of these meanings might be appropriately applied as descriptive of the peculiar position of this cave, for it is entirely separated from the other cave; it is encompassed by the bluff rocks of the gap in which it is situated, and is so effectually covered or screened from view, that it altogether escaped the notice of Mr. Hathorne when he made copies of the inscriptions in the *Gopi* and *Vapiya* caves for James Prinsep. I think, therefore, that the term "secluded" would be descriptive of the position of the cave, and I would suggest that *Vadathika* may probably be a vernacular form of *vada* + *arthika*, the whole meaning simply the cave of the "secluded mendicants." According to Buchanan, this cave is called the abode of Hâji *Harmâyan*.*

From the foregoing account of the Barâbar caves, it will be seen that the two groups are separated by date as well as by position, the *Satghara* caves having been excavated in the 12th and 19th years of Raja *Piyadisi* (or Asoka) while those of *Nâgârjuni* were excavated in the first year of *Dasaratha*, the beloved of the Devas. According to the *Vishnu Purâna*, *Dasaratha* was the grandson of Asoka, and the son of *Suyasas*; and as the son of *Asoka*, according to the *Vaya Purana*, reigned only eight years, the accession of *Dasaratha* must have taken place in 214 B. C. The age of the *Nâgârjuni* caves is, therefore, 31 years later than that of the *Karna-chopâr*, and 38 years later than that of the *Sudâma* and *Viswa* Caves.

From the various inscriptions we learn that these caves have been successively occupied by Buddhists and by Brahmanists. They were originally excavated for the occupation of Buddhist monks by the Kings Asoka and Dasaratha in the third century before Christ. About the third or fourth century after Christ, the Kings *Sârdula Varmma* and *Ananta Varmma*, placed Brahmanical images of *Deva-mâtâ*, of

* See Plate XIX., Fig 7, for plan, and Plate XX., No 6, for inscription.

Kutyayani, and of *Mahādeva* and his wife in three of the caves. At a somewhat later date, in the sixth or seventh century, the teacher *Yogananda* recorded his adoration of the *Siddhesvara lingam*. This occupation by Brahmans in the seventh century may account for the silence of the Chinese pilgrim *Hwen Thsang* regarding the caves, which, as being in the immediate neighbourhood of *Gaya*, would otherwise have attracted his attention. At a still later date, somewhere about the twelfth century, the *Jogi-Karmamāyga* and the pilgrim *Bhayankara Nātha* visited the caves and inscribed their names*. Still later, the *Nāgārjuni* caves were occupied by Musalmān Fakīrs. The *Idgāh* outside the *Gopi* Cave is said to be only 150 years old, but the numerous graves on the raised terrace in front of the *Vapiya* Cave would seem to denote a much longer occupation of probably not less than 300 or 400 years.

During this successive occupation, the caves would appear to have received new names, as not one of the ancient names recorded in the inscriptions has been preserved. Indeed, the most ancient names would seem to have been lost at a very early date, for the *Gopi* Cave of *Dasaratha* is designated by *Ananta Varma* as "this cavern of the *Vindhya* mountains," and the *Padathi* Cave is called simply "this Cave," as if the ancient names had already been forgotten. Similarly, the *Lomas Rishi* Cave is called *Pravara-giri guha*, or "the great mountain cave." From these instances, I would infer that the present names of the caves are all of later date than the time of *Ananta Varma* in the third or fourth century. That they were also of Brahmanical origin seems to me to be quite certain for the following reasons. *Karna-chopur* I take to be simply *Karna jhopra*, or "Karna's Hut," so named after *Karna*, King of *Angga*, the illegitimate son of *Pritha*, the mother of the *Pandus*. Similarly, *Lomas Rishi* who was described to *Buchanan* as a "very hairy saint," is no doubt the same as *Loma pada* or "hairy foot," who was also one of the Kings of *Angga* (or *Bhugalpur*). But as *Loma pada* is only a descriptive appellation of a Prince whose true name was *Dasaratha*, it would seem as if the name of

* See Plate XX., D and B inscriptions from the *Vajra* or *W. C. C.* cave. The other inscription given in the same Plate are hort desultory records of little importance. No. 16, *id id id id id*, "the cave of poverty" and Nos. 18 and 19 *id id id id* "the cave of affliction" which refer to *Buddhism*, and show that these caves were inhabited or at least visited by *Buddhist* monks at least as the third or fourth century A. D.

Dasaratha, the founder of the three Nâgârjuni Caves, had actually been preserved down to a comparatively late period, and was then ignorantly referred by the Brahmans to the early king of Angga, instead of to the Maurya Prince of Magatha. Regarding the name of *Sudama* or *Sudhâma*, I am unable to offer any conjecture; but *Viswamitra* was one of the most celebrated of the seven Rishis, or great Brahmanical Saints.

The silence of Hwen Thsang regarding the caves has been already noticed, but I have a suspicion that he had heard of the celebrated spring of the *Pâtâl Gangâ* at the foot of the Barâbar Hill. According to his account, there was a famous spring of pure water situated at 30 *li* (or 5 miles) to the north of Gaya *. Now, as I could not hear of any spring to the northward of Gaya nearer than Barâbar, I would suggest that Hwen Thsang's distance of 30 *li* should be corrected to 130 *li* (or 21½ miles), which would make his famous spring agree exactly with the position of the *Pâtâl Ganga*, according to the distance by road, which is 13 miles to the Bela Dak Bungalow + 6 to the Kauwa-Dol Hill + 2 more to the Pâtâl Gangâ. Hwen Thsang adds that "the Indians, following an ancient tradition, called this spring the 'holy water' (l'eau sainte), and that at all times whoever drank of it, or bathed in it, was instantly purified from the stain of his sins." Now the source of the Pâtâl Gangâ is still held in such esteem that, according to Buchanan, from 20,000 to 50,000 people assemble annually in the middle of the month of Bhâdrapada to bathe in its waters, and about 500 people bathe daily during the whole of that month.

Should this identification be correct, it would seem to be almost certain that towards the middle of the seventh century of our era, not only were these caves occupied by the Brahmans, but the very memory of their Buddhist origin had either been forgotten or was carefully concealed.

XIV DHARAWAT.

The *Dharâwat* group of hills lies immediately to the northward of the Barâbar hills, about 1½ mile distant. There are two distinct ridges running from west to east, that to the

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 455

south being nearly two miles in length with three peaks named *Saleya*, *Gureya*, and *Dhaoli* * The nearest road from Barâbar to Dharâwat lies through a pass between the Gurova and Dhaoli Hills The northern ridge consists of a single hill named *Ratani*, which in former days was occupied by some establishment of the Buddhists On the northern slope of the hill there are two brick terraces which have been built up against the rock. The eastern terrace is 60 feet long by 20 feet broad, and 50 feet above the plain. Near the top the solid brick work can still be seen for 20 feet in height, below which the brick rubbish reaches to the foot of the hill. The second terrace lies more than 200 feet to the westward of the other, it has a front of 250 feet, but its height is not more than 15 feet above the plain On this terraco there are two broken Buddhist figures, and beneath it there are four others of which one bears the usual Buddhist formula of "*Ye Dharma hetu prabhava, &c.*" in characters of the 9th or 10th century

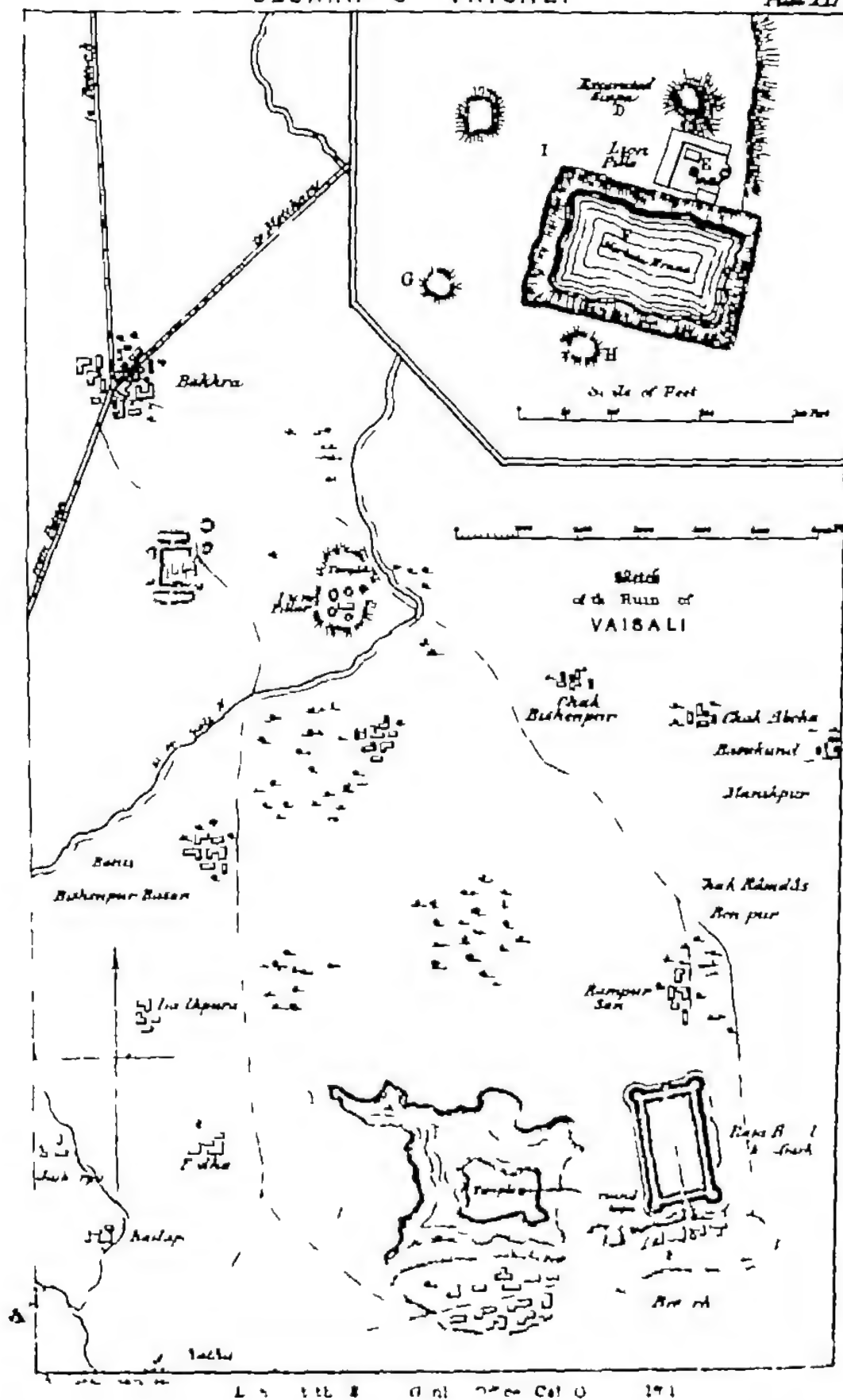
To the north of the Ratani Hill there is a large tank called *Chândokhar Tâl*, 2 000 feet in length and 800 feet in width On the eastern embankment there is a new temple to Mahâdeva, only three years old, and close beside it a very small old temple to Narsingh Outside this temple there is a very fine life size statue named Bhairav The figure stands under a thick stem of lotus which forms an arch overhead, and from which little curling branches strike off on both sides, ending in lotus flowers which support tiny figures of men, women, and animals The statue has twelve arms, and bears in the head dress a small figure of Buddha squatted with hands in lap I recognized it at once as a statue of the famous *Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara* Beside the statue there are several sculptured stones containing rows of Buddhas, and also several fragments of votive stupas and two slabs with representations of the *Nava graha*, or "nine planets" There are also numerous fragments of sculpture under a Pipal tree close by, two of which bear inscriptions in characters of the 9th or 10th century

To the north-east of the Chândokhar Tâl there is an extensive mound of brick ruin, which is probably only the remains of the former town of Dharâwat. In the north west

* See Plate No. XVIII.

BESARH o VAISALI

PLATE XXV



corner of this mound there are two small eminences, which may be the remains of temples, but as the surface of the mound now presents nothing but small fragments of bricks, all the larger bricks having been removed to furnish materials for the present village, it is quite impossible to say what kind of buildings may once have stood upon it. All that can be inferred, I think, from the present remains is, that Dharâwat must at one time, probably about the 8th or 9th century, have been the seat of a considerable Buddhist community. Major Kintoe paid a hurried visit to Dharâwat by moon-light. He notices the twelve-armed figure, which he calls a Buddhist sculpture, as being very remarkable.

XV. BESARIH.

The village of *Besârh*, or *Besâdh* in Nagari characters, is situated 27 miles, a little to the east of north from Patna, and 20 miles from Hâjipur on the left bank of the Ganges. Both the distance and direction from Patna point to this place as the representative of the ancient *Vaisâli*. The name also is the same, as it is written *Besârh* by Abul Fazl in his *Am Akbari* *. Now, Hwen Thsang places the King's Palace in Vaisâli at 120 *li*, or 20 miles, to the east of north from the northern bank of the Ganges opposite Pâtaliputra, that is, from the present Hâjipur.† He also describes the King's Palace as being from 4 to 5 *li* (from 3,500 to 4,400 feet) in circuit, which agrees with the size of the ruined fort now called *Râja Bisâl-ka-garh*, which is 1,580 feet long and 750 feet broad inside, or 4,660 feet in circuit round the crest of the mound. This almost perfect coincidence of name, position, and dimensions, seems quite sufficient to place the identification of *Besârh* with *Vaisâli* beyond all reasonable doubt. I will, therefore, now proceed to describe the objects of interest that still remain in *Besârh* and the neighbouring village of *Bakhra*, which will afford further proof of the identity of *Besârh* and *Vaisâli*.

These ruins were visited by Mr J. Stephenson in 1834, and described by him in Prinsep's Journal ‡. They consist of two distinct groups, one at *Besârh* itself, and the other

* Gladwin's Translation, II, 198

† Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 399 To Svetapura 90 *li*, plus 30 *li* to the Ganges In Vol I, p 137, the distance to Svetapura is stated to be 100 *li*

‡ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1835, p 128

2 miles to the north north west of Besârh, and 1 mile to the south-east of Bakhra. But the whole of these must have belonged to the ancient Vaisâli, as Hwen Thsang describes the old foundations of the city, although even then much ruined, as occupying a circuit of from 60 to 70 *li*, or from 10 to 12 miles. Now, an oblong square, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from north to south, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from west to east, making a circuit of exactly 12 miles, would include both Bakhra and Besârh and all the remains that are at present traceable. This of itself would be sufficient to show that the Bakhra ruins must have formed part of the ancient Vaisâli, but the fact will be placed beyond all doubt when I come to describe the ruins themselves, which correspond in the most remarkable manner with the minute details recorded by Hwen Thsang.

The remains at Besârh consist of a large deserted fort, and a ruined brick stupa. The fort is a large brick covered mound of earth, 1,580 feet long from north to south, and 750 feet broad from west to east, measured from edge to edge.* It has round towers at the four corners, and the whole is surrounded by a ditch which was full of water at the time of my visit. The ruined ramparts along the edge, and the four towers at the corners, are somewhat higher than the mass of the mound, which has a general elevation of from 6 to 8 feet above the country. The height of the north west bastion I found by measurement to be 12 feet above the fields, and 15 feet above the bottom of the ditch, where it was dry. The main entrance was in the middle of the south face, where there still exists a broad embankment across the ditch, as well as a passage through the rampart. In the northern face there was probably only a postern gate, as there is no passage through the rampart, and no trace of any embankment across the ditch, excepting the fact that the only dry part of the ditch is on this face. The only building within the fort is a small brick temple of modern date.

Outside the south west angle of the fort, and about 1,000 feet distant, there is a ruined mound of solid brick work, 23 feet 8 inches in height above the fields. The whole of the top has been levelled for the reception of Musalman tombs, of which the largest, ascribed to Mir Abdal, is said to be 500

years old. Mr. Stephenson gives the name of the Saint as Mir Abdullah, and the age of the tomb as 250 years. My informant was the Musalmân whom I found in charge of the tomb. On the south edge of the mound there is a magnificent wide-spreading Banian Tree, supported on numerous trunks, which shades the whole of the tombs. On the same side also a flight of steps leads down to the village of Besârîh. This brick mound is the ruin of one of the *stupas*, or solid towers of Vaisâli, of which so many are described by Hwen Thsang. "Both within and without and all round the town of Vaisâli," says he, "the sacred monuments are so many that it would be difficult to enumerate them." He has, however, described a few of them, which were situated to the south of the town, one of which, I have no doubt, is the solid brick mound that now bears the tomb of the Musalmân Saint, Mîr Abdâl.

At a short distance to the south of the town, there was a vihâr, and also a stupa in the garden which *Amradârikâ* had presented to Buddha. Beside the garden there was another stupa erected on the spot where Buddha had announced his approaching *Nirvânâ* (or death). Beyond this there was a third stupa on the spot where the "thousand sons had recognized their mother." A fourth stupa stood over the spot where Buddha was said to have taken exercise, and a fifth, erected on ancient foundations, commemorated the site on which he had explained certain sacred books. A sixth stupa held the relics of one-half of the body of Ananda, the other half being enshrined at Râja-griha. The bearing of these stupas from the garden of *Amradârikâ* is not stated, but as the mass of the existing brick ruins lies to the westward of the southern entrance of the fort, the whole of these monuments must have been situated in that direction. Of the six stupas described by Hwen Thsang, it is probable that only two were of any size, namely, that erected on the spot where Buddha had announced his approaching *Nirvânâ*, and that which contained the relics of the half body of Ananda. It is much to be regretted that the presence of the Musalmân tombs on the top of this ancient stupa effectually precludes any attempt at excavation, otherwise a shaft sunk down through the centre of the mound would probably reveal the purpose for which the monument had been erected. The stupa built by the

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 395

King of Magadha in Rāja griha, over the other half of the remains of Ananda, is said by Hwen Thsang to have been a superb one. An annual fair is held at the Besārī stupa in the month of *Chaitra*, when many thousands of people assemble at the shrine of Mīr Abdāl. As the occurrence of this fair is regulated by the solar reckoning of the Hindus, and not by the lunar year of the Muhammedans, I conclude that the festival was established long before the time of the Musalman Saint. I would, therefore, as the fair is held beside the ruined stupa, connect the festival with some celebration in honour of Buddha, or of one of his disciples. Two ornamental stone pillars of mediæval date were found a short time ago in excavating near the foot of the mound.

To the westward of the fort there is a large sheet of water with an island on the east side, on which is situated a small temple dedicated to Mahādeva. Inside the temple all the sculptures found in the ruins of Besārī have been collected. The principal sculpture is a group of Mahadeva seated on his bull Nandi and caressing Durgā, or Gaurī, who is seated on a lion. There is also a standing figure of the four armed Vishnu with a radiated halo round his head. In his hands he holds a club, a ball, a quoit, and a shell. A third sculpture represents the *Aṣṭa Sakti*, or eight female energies seated on their respective *vahans* or vehicles. The remaining sculptures are Buddhistical. One is of Buddha the Ascetic, two represent the Dhyāni Buddha, Amitābha, while a fourth is a seated figure of the famous Bodhisatwa Avalokitesvara.

There are several small sheets of water to the north and north west of the fort, but when I saw them they were irregular in shape and seemed to me mostly natural hollows filled with the rain which had recently fallen. The Natives, however, say that formerly there were 52 tanks (*Baican Pokhar*) around Besārī, two of which still exist in the neighbourhood of Bakhra.

The remains at *Bakhra* are all situated on a low mound just one mile to the south-east of the village, and two miles to the north north west of the Fort of Besārī*. The greater portion of this mound is now cultivated, but the whole surface is covered with small fragments of bricks. The edge of the mound is best defined on the western side, where it

BAKHRA PILLAR



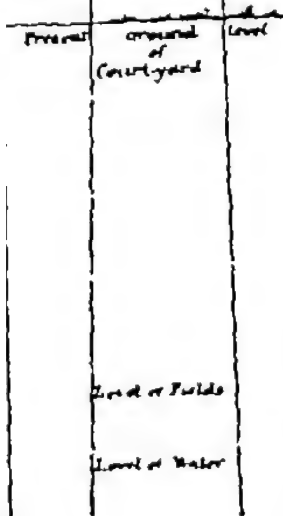
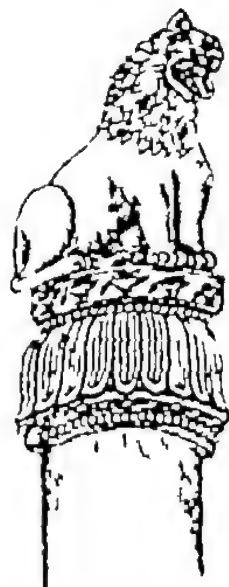
LAURIYA PILLAR



LAURIYA PILLAR
Back View



LAURIYA PILLAR
Side View



has an elevation of four feet. The remains consist of—1st, a stone pillar surmounted by a lion; 2nd, a ruined stupa of solid brick; 3rd, a tank; 4th, four small eminences which mark the sites of ancient buildings, and 5th, a very fine life-size statue of Buddha the Ascetic, which was discovered only eight years ago. The pillar and the ruined stupa have already been described by Mr. Stephenson, and the site has already been identified by M. Vivien de St. Martin, as well as by myself, with the Vaisâli of the Buddhists.

The lion pillar of Bakhra is situated in the middle of a small court-yard with small rooms on three sides—the residence of a *Sanyâsi* who has recently settled at this place. The people call him Baba. He is about 30 years of age, and appeared to me very like a sepoy. He was obliging and communicative, and gave me both assistance and information. If he had been surly and disobliging, he might easily have raised religious scruples, and thus have thwarted me from making an excavation round the pillar, which I was particularly anxious to do, as it was evident to me that the column had sunk considerably into the earth. The man had a few followers, and appeared to be very comfortable. There was plenty of food stored in his house, and a fine old well on the east side of the court-yard.

The shaft of the pillar is a single block of polished sand-stone, 18 feet in height above the present ground level of the court-yard in which it stands, and 27 feet 11 inches above the surrounding fields. The difference between these two measurements, or 9 feet 11 inches, represents the accumulation of rubbish around the pillar above the general level of the country. I made an excavation all round the shaft until I reached water at a depth of 14 feet below the level of the court-yard, and of 4 feet 1 inch below the level of the fields. The water in the old well close by was standing at the same level. As the whole of the shaft exposed by the excavation is polished, it appears to me certain that the pillar must have sunk into the ground at least 4 feet 1 inch in depth, and most probably several feet more, as there was no appearance of any basement at the point reached by my excavation. The whole height of shaft above the water level is 32 feet. I was informed by an old man at Besârîh that the Sâheb who excavated the Bakhra

stupa left a Bengali to make an excavation round the pillar, and that just at the water level he found a square pedestal in three steps. Before I began my own excavation, I was told that a previous excavation had been made down to the water level without revealing any inscriptions. I found, however, a few short records in the curious flourished characters, which James Prinsep called "shell-shaped," and which Major Kittoe thought somewhat resembled Chinese. I believe that these characters belong to the 7th or 8th century. But at whatever period these may have been in use, it is certain that at least 4 or 5 feet more of the shaft must then have been exposed to view. The pillar now leans to the westward, and is from 4 to 5 inches out of the perpendicular at the ground level. I attribute the sinking of the pillar partly to the insufficiency of the basement, and partly to the want of stiffness in the sub soil, which is a loose wet sand. In such a soil the basement should have been well spread out, with its foundation resting on wells, so as to offer an effectual resistance to the thrust of the heavy pillar which, with its capital, must weigh nearly 50 tons. The shaft alone above the water level weighs 37 tons *.

The upper diameter of the pillar is 38 7 inches and the lower diameter at the water level is 49 8 inches, the mean diameter being 44 2 inches, as the slope of the shaft is quite straight. The pillar is surmounted by a bell shaped capital, 2 feet 10 inches in height, with an oblong abacus of 12 inches, making the whole height of capital 3 feet 10 inches. This forms the pedestal of a lion statue of life size. The animal is seated facing the north with his hind legs under him, with his mouth open as if snarling, and his tongue slightly protruded. The attitude is rather stiff, and the fore legs of the animal seem to be both too short and too thick, but the hair of the mane is boldly and cleverly treated, and the general appearance of the statue is certainly striking.

There is no inscription on the pillar to declare the object for which it was erected. It is possible that a short inscription may once have existed, for the surface of the pillar has suffered considerably, and in one part, 2½ feet above the present ground level, the polished surface has peeled off all round. Numerous names of visitors have been cut on the

pillar. Some few are of Musalmâns, several of Hindus, but the most of Christians. The visitors, I was told, wrote their names in charcoal, and a village black-smith afterwards traced them roughly with a chisel. The whole surface of the pillar within reach is disfigured with these rude scrawls, of which the neatest and smallest is that of "Reuben Burrow, 1792". Some of the Nâgari inscriptions consist of two short lines, but none of them, as far as I could judge, are more than 200 or 300 years old. The pillar is known by the people as *Bhîm-Sen-kâ-lât* and *Bhîm-Sen-kâ-danda*.

Immediately to the south of the pillar there is a small tank, 200 feet from east to west, and 150 feet from north to south. It has no name, but is simply called *Kând* or *Pokhar*. To the south, at a distance of 35 feet, there is a low mound of broken bricks, which must have been the site of some ancient building. At short distances from the south-west and north-west corners of the tank, there are two similar mounds. The probable identification of the tank and mounds will be noticed hereafter.

Due north from the pillar, and just outside the courtyard, there is a ruined stupa of solid brick surmounted by a fine old Pipal tree. This stupa is 25 feet 10 inches in height above the fields, but only 15 feet 11 inches above the present ground level of the pillar. An excavation has been made right into the centre of the mound from the north-west. The excavation, I was informed by an old man, was superintended by a Bengâli servant of some Sâheb more than 50 years ago, but no discovery was made. This account agrees with that given by Mr Stephenson, who relates that the excavation was made by a Doctor, resident at Muzafarpur, 30 years ago, that is, previous to 1835, or about A. D. 1805. As the centre of the mass had evidently been reached by the Bengâli, I did not think it necessary to make any further excavation.

To the north-east of the ruined stupa, at a distance of 250 feet, there is a low mound similar to those near the tank, and due north, at a distance of 500 feet, there is a small temple containing a life-size statue of Buddha the Ascetic, which was discovered only eight years ago in digging up some brick walls immediately to the east of the temple. The statue is perfect, not even the nose being broken. There is a small Buddha on each side of the figure, and there are

two lions on the pedestal, besides a long inscription, beginning with the usual Buddhist formula. There is no date, but the characters are those of the 8th or 9th century. The spot on which the figure was found was most probably the site of an ancient *vihār* or Buddhist chapel monastery, in which the statue was enshrined. I saw several of the bricks with bevelled edges similar to those that form part of the mouldings of the Great Temple at Buddha Gaya, and of the stupa at Giryek.

The lion pillar and the surrounding remains at Bakhra I would identify with a group of holy buildings described by Hwen Thsang as being situated upwards of one mile to the north west of the Palace of Vaisālī. The exact distance is not mentioned, but the existing remains correspond so closely with his details regarding the situation and nature of the different objects, that there can be no reasonable doubt as to the identity of the whole group. The first work noticed by Hwen Thsang as being upwards of one mile to the north west of the Palace of Vaisālī is a stupa that was built by King Asoka, of which the purpose is not stated. Beside the stupa there was a stone column from 50 to 60 feet in height, surmounted by the statue of a lion. To the south of the pillar there was a tank which had been excavated by a flock of monkeys for the use of Buddha. At a short distance to the west of the tank there was a stupa erected on the spot where the monkeys climbed a tree and filled Buddha's begging pot with honey. On the south side of the tank there was another stupa erected on the spot where the monkeys offered the honey to Buddha, and at the north west angle of the tank there was a statue of a monkey *.

The ruined stupa to the north of the pillar I would identify with Asoka's stupa, and the small tank to the south of the pillar with the celebrated *Markala hrada* or "Monkeys Tank," which, as we have already seen, was in the same position with respect to the lion pillar. The two low mounds to the west and south of the tank correspond with the sites of the two stupas built to commemorate the monkey's offering of honey to Buddha, and the low mound to the north west agrees exactly with the site of the monkey's statue

The correspondence between the several objects so minutely detailed by Hwen Thsang and the existing remains is complete. The only point on which there is any seeming discrepancy is the height of the pillar, which was from 50 feet to 60 feet, while the actual pillar may, perhaps, be less. The height of the lion statue is 4 feet 6 inches, that of the capital is 3 feet 10 inches, and that of the polished shaft down to the water level is 35 feet 10 inches, making altogether a height of only 44 feet 2 inches; but as neither the basement of the pillar nor the end of the polished portion of the shaft have been reached, it is quite certain that the pillar must have been higher than this measurement. I would, therefore, fix its probable original height at about 50 feet, which would then agree with the measurement of Hwen Thsang.

Vaisâli, the Capital of the *Lichchhavi* family, was especially famous as the scene of the second Buddhist Synod in 443 B. C. The assembly was held, according to Hwen Thsang, at a spot $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-east of the city, but I could find no remains in that direction. Vaisâli was also celebrated as the place where Buddha had announced his approaching *Nirvâna*. The actual spot was to the westward of the town, but after the announcement, Buddha, with his cousin disciple Ananda, repaired to the *Kutâgâra* hall, where he addressed his followers for the last time. *Kutâgâra*, which means the "upper-storied hall," was a famous edifice situated in the *Mahāvano Vihâro*, in which Buddha had dwelt during the 5th year of his teaching* *Mahāvano Vihâro* means "the Chapel Monastery of the Great Forest." Fa-Hian speaks of "a great forest and a chapel of two stories," but Hwen Thsang makes no allusion to the upper-storied hall, although, as we know from the *Mândhâtî Sutra* of the *Dvya Avadâna*, translated by Burnouf, the *Kutâgâra* Hall was situated on the bank of the *Markata-hrada*, or "Monkey Tank"† From Hwen Thsang's silence I infer that this once famous hall, which Fa-Hian had seen about A. D. 410, must have become ruined before A. D. 640. Altogether, the agreement of these details is so very close that I think there can be little, if any, doubt that the Bakhra ruins represent the site of the group of sacred objects described by Hwen Thsang. Even the great forest can still be traced in the numerous fine

* Turnour in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1839, pp. 790 and 1200

† Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, p. 74

groves of trees which surround the ruins on all sides. The name of Bakhra may possibly have been derived from *Vak* (S Vach) "to speak," from the fact that in the *Kutágára* Hall Buddha had addressed his disciples for the last time.

XVI KESARIYA

To the north north west distant 30 miles from Besarh, and somewhat less than two miles to the south of the large village of Kesariya, stands a lofty brick mound capped by a solid brick tower of considerable size. This ruin has already been brought to notice by Mr B H Hodgson, but no description has been published, and in the sketch taken by his Native artist, the mound appears much too high for its breadth, while the stupa (or dahgopa) on the top is made much too small.*

The mound of Kesariya is a ruined mass of solid brick work 62 feet in height, and 1,400 feet in circumference at the base of the ruins. On the top of this there is a solid brick stupa, the whole surface of which is ruined, excepting at the base, which is still perfect in several places. In the most perfect part there are 15 courses of surface brick work still in good order, and in two other places there are 10 and 11 courses perfect. From these three points I made out the base of the stupa to be 68 feet 5 inches in diameter. My measurement of the height was necessarily rough, as there was no defined edge at the top, the whole being thickly covered with long grass. After much trouble I made out a height of 38 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches for the cylindrical portion, and of 12 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches for the dome, or altogether of 51 feet 6 inches. But as the height of the dome cannot have been less than the half diameter of the building, or 34 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the original height of the solid brick work or this stupa must have been 72 feet 10 inches, and the whole height of the stupa with its pinnacle not less than from 80 to 90 feet, or including the ruined basement on which it stands, not less than 150 feet above the ground †

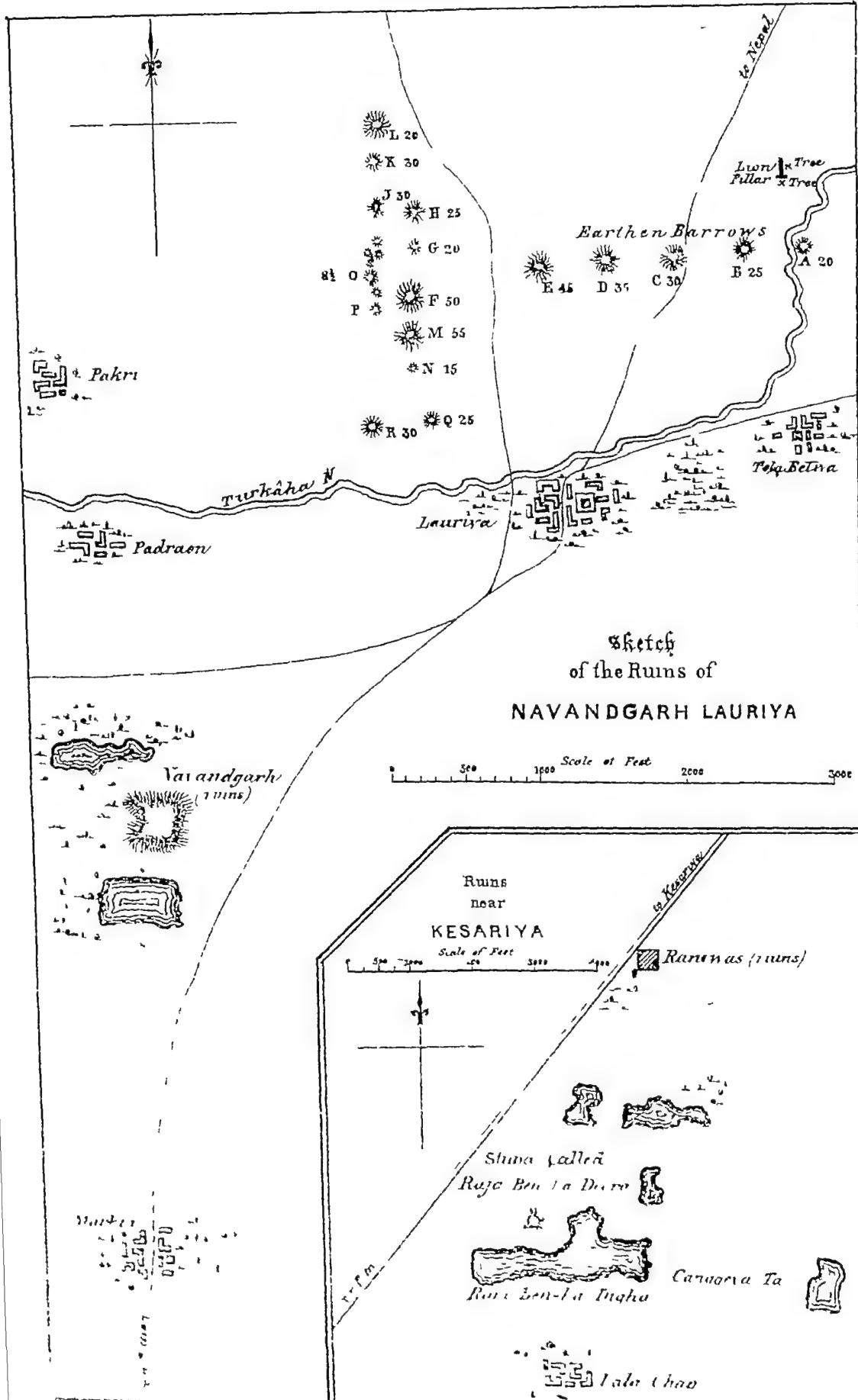
From the ruined state of the lower mound, compared with the perfect state of the base of the upper stupa, I am

Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1830, Plate VII.

† See Plate XXIII. for a plan of the ruins of Kesariya; and Plate XXIV. for a view of the stupa.

LAURIA NAVANDGARH

Plate XXXIII



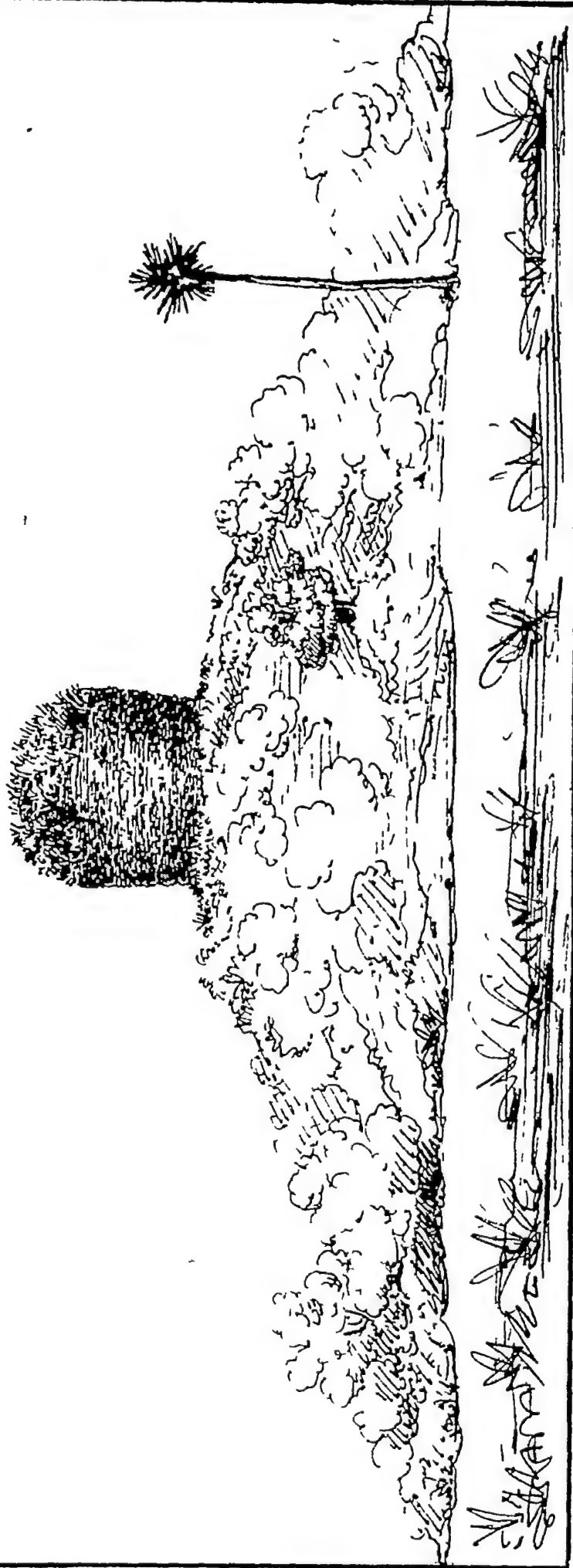
of opinion that the present stupa is of middle age say from A. D. 200 to 700, and that it was built upon the ruined mass of a much older and much larger stupa. That such a practice was not uncommon, we learn from Hwen Thsang, who describes two stupas at Vaisâli as having been erected on ancient foundations. I feel quite satisfied that such has been the case with the Kēsariya Monument, and as all the early stupas are found to be hemispherical, I infer that the lower and earlier stupa must have been of that form. Its great size may be deduced from the breadth of the base of the upper stupa, namely, 68 feet 5 inches, at a height of 62 feet above the ground; and as there must have been a clear terrace all round this stupa, for the perambulation of pilgrims, the actual thickness of the early stupa at this height cannot have been much less than 100 feet, which would give a diameter at base of 160 feet. The height of the hemisphere would, of course, have been 80 feet, but with the usual square Buddhist capital surrounded by an umbrella, or other pinnacle, the stupa could not have been less than 100 feet.

This ancient monument is known to the people as *Rāja Ben la Deora*. The similar but smaller stupa at Kasiya is also called a *Deora*, or, as it is written by Buchanan, *Dewhara*. In both cases the name belongs to the upper stupa, and not to the whole mass, as all mounds, whether of earth or brick, in this part of the country, are named *Bhusa Deoriya*, which is a very common village name in the districts of Tirhut, Champâran, and Gorakhpur, is applied, I believe, only to such places as possess either a temple or some other holy buildings. Of *Raja Ben* the people have no tradition, except that he was one of the five Supreme Emperors of India, and he is, therefore, called *Raja Ben Chakravarti*. The piece of water immediately to the south of the stupa is also named after him, *Rāja Ben ka Digha*, or Raja Ben's Tank. I know only of one *Raja Vena*, whom the Rishis are said to have inaugurated as "Monarch of the Earth," but whom they afterwards slew, because he would not allow them to worship Vishnu—"Who," exclaimed he, "is this Hari whom you style the lord of sacrifice?" From Vena's right arm, when rubbed by Brahmans, was produced a son named Prithu, who, according to the Vishnu Purâna, also become a *Chakravarti Raja*. This Vena Chakravarti is most probably the great Raja Ben to whom the tradition refers

Now it is remarkable that, according to the account of Hwen Thsang, this stupa was also referred to a Chakravartti Raja by the Buddhists of the 7th century. He states that at somewhat less than 200 $\frac{1}{2}$ (that is, less than 33 miles, or say about 30 miles) to the north west of Vaisālī, which is the exact position of the Kesariya stupa, there was an ancient town which had been deserted for many ages. It possessed a stupa built over the spot where Buddha had announced that in one of his former existences he had been a Bodhisatwa, and had reigned over that town as a *Chakravartti Raja*, named *Mahadeva* *. It can hardly, I think be doubted that the tradition of Raja Ben preserves the very same story which is recorded by Hwen Thsang. That the stupa was intended to commemorate a Chakravartti Raja might also have been inferred from its position at the meeting of four principal roads. For a Chakravartti Raja, said Buddha addressing Ananda, "they build the *stupa* at a spot where four principal roads meet." Now to the south of Kesariya, within one-quarter of a mile of the stupa, the two great thoroughfares of the district cross each other, namely, that from Patna northward to Bettiah, and that from Chapra across the Gandak, north-eastwards to Nopāl.

On the east side of the Kesariya stupa a gallery has been excavated right to the centre of the building. This is said to have been done upwards of 10 years ago by one Kāsi Nāth Babu, the servant of a Colonel Sāheb. As the name of 'Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Madras Engineers, 1814,' is inscribed on the Bakhra Pillar. I think it probable that the excavation was made by his orders. No discovery was made and if I am right in my identification of this stupa with that which was erected on the spot where Buddha announced his previous existence as a Chakravartti Raja, it is almost certain that it would not have been the depository of relics or of other objects. The monument was in fact, only a memorial stupa erected to perpetuate the fame of one of Buddha's acts and not a sepulchral stupa for the reception of relics.

To the north north-east of the stupa and rather less than half a mile distant there is a small mound which has been partially excavated to furnish materials for the bridges on the high road which, within the last few years, have been



A Cunningham del

STUPA AND MOUND AT KESARIYA.

Photomicrographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

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To the north north-east of the stupa and rather less than half a mile distant there is a small mound which has been partially excavated to furnish materials for the bridges on the high road which, within the last few years, have been

made from Bakhra to Motihari and Kesariya. The excavations have disclosed the walls of a small temple, 10 feet square inside, and the head and shoulders of colossal figure of Buddha, with the usual crisp curly hair. The mound, which is about 200 feet square, is called *Ramūās*, and also Gorai, and the buildings are attributed to some ancient Rām. It appears to me to have been the site of a Vihāra or Temple Monastery, as portions of cells are still traceable on the eastern side. At the south-west angle there is another smaller mound of brick run, 120 feet from north to south and 60 feet from west to east. It is probably the ruin of a temple.

XVII LAURIYA ARA-RAJ

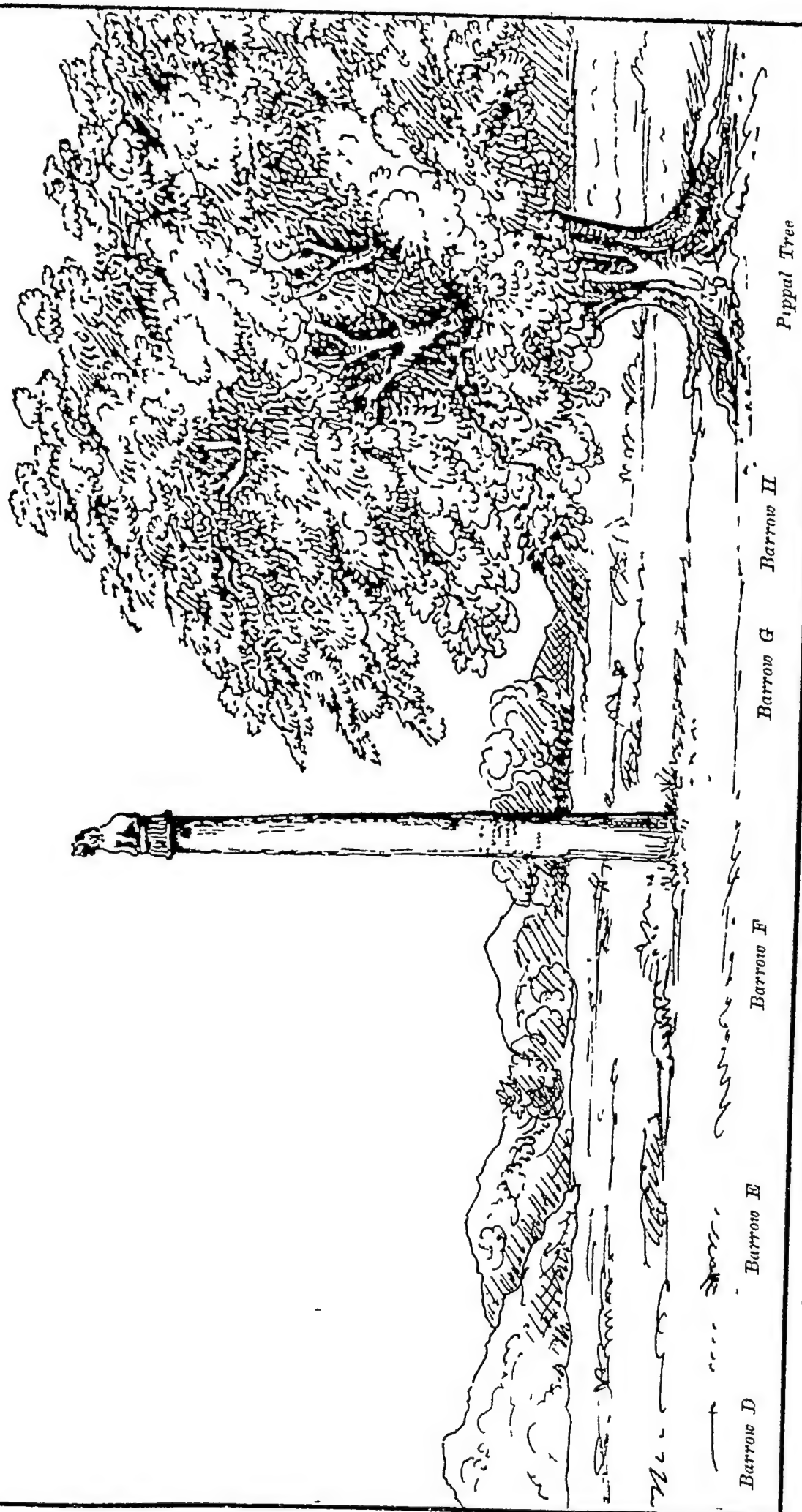
Between Kesariya and Bettiah, at a distance of 20 miles to the north-west of the Kesariya stupa, and one mile to the south-west of the Hindu temple of Ara-Rāj Mahādeo, there stands a lofty stone column which bears in well-preserved and well-cut letters several of the edicts of King Asoka. The pillar itself is simply called *Laur*, that is, “the *phallus*,” and the neighbouring village, which lies not more than 100 yards to the westward, is called *Lauriya*. This is the pillar which, on the authority of Mr Hodgson, has been called the Radhia Pillar. Now, as the other pillar to the north of Bettiah is also called *Laur*, and the large village close to it *Lauriya*, while Mr Hodgson has named it *Mathiah*, I presume that his Munshi intentionally suppressed the phallic name of *Lauriya*, and named the two pillars at random after some of the neighbouring villages. Thus Rahariya (Rurheea of Indian Atlas Sheet No. 102), which is Mr. Hodgson’s Radhia, lies $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west north-west of the southern pillar, while Mathiah lies 3 miles due south from the northern pillar. In describing these pillars I will preserve the characteristic name of *Lauriya*, and for the sake of distinguishing the one from the other, I will add to each the name of the nearest village, thus the village near the southern pillar I shall call *Lauriya Ara-Raj*, and that near the northern pillar *Lauriya Navandgarh*.

The Ara-Raj Pillar is a single block of polished sandstone, $36\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height above the ground, with a base diameter of 41.8 inches, and a top diameter of 37.6 inches. The weight of this portion only is very nearly 34 tons, but

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On the east side of the Kesariya stupa a gallery has been excavated right to the centre of the building. This is said to have been done upwards of 10 years ago by one Kāsi Nāth Babu, the servant of a Colonel Sāheb. As the name of 'Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Madras Engineers, 1814,' is inscribed on the Bakhra Pillar. I think it probable that the excavation was made by his orders. No discovery was made and if I am right in my identification of this stupa with that which was erected on the spot where Buddha announced his previous existence as a Chakravartti Raja, it is almost certain that it would not have been the depository of relics or of other objects. The monument was in fact, only a memorial stupa erected to perpetuate the fame of one of Buddha's acts and not a sepulchral stupa for the reception of relics.

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Pippal Tree

A Cunningham, del

Photoincographed at the Surveyor General's Office (Admission)

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fort of Navandgarh is omitted, but it will be found in the Calcutta Map, on the 8-mile scale, as Naonad-garh. The mound is from 250 to 300 feet square at top, and 80 feet in height. On account of its height it was chosen as one of the stations of the Trigonometrical Survey, and for the same reason it commands a most extensive and beautiful view of the well-wooded country around it.*

The remains at Lauriya Navandgarh are particularly interesting, as they are very extensive, and at the same time quite different in character from any others that I have examined. These remains consist of three rows of earthen barrows or huge conical mounds of earth, of which two of the rows lie from north to south, and the third from west to east. The stupas hitherto met with have been made either of stone or of brick, but the earliest stupas were mere mounds of earth, of which these are the only specimens that I have seen. I believe that they are the sepulchral mounds of the early kings of the country, prior to the rise and spread of Buddhism, and that their date may, therefore, be assumed as ranging from about 600 to 1500 B. C. The word stupa meant originally only "a mound of earth," and this is the rendering given to the word by Colebrooke in his translation of the *Amarakosha*. In the time of Asoka all the stupas were certainly built either of stone or brick, as recorded by Hwen Thsang; and, although he is silent regarding the material of the earlier stupas of Ajâtasatra and other contemporaries of Buddha, yet, as he makes no mention anywhere of earthen stupas, I presume that all the Buddhist monuments were either of brick or stone. The earthen barrows I would, therefore, refer to an earlier period, as the stupas or sepulchral mounds raised over the ashes of the rulers of the country, the larger mounds belonging, perhaps, to the greater or more famous monarchs who had assumed the title of *Chakravartti Râjas*. Every mound is called simply *Bhîsa*, and the whole are said to have been the fortified residences of the ministers and nobles of Raja *Uttânpat*, while the Fort of Navandgarh was the Raja's own residence. *Uttânnapâda*, King of Brahmavarta or Bharatkhand, that is, of the Gangetic Doab, was the son of the Manu *Swayambhuva*, the first-created of Brahma, and the progenitor of

* See Plate XXIII for a plan of these ruins, and Plate XXV for a view.

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as the wall was only 16 inches thick, the former would seem to be the more probable supposition. Mound B is a simple earthen barrow, 25 feet in height. Mound C, which is 30 feet in height, is thickly covered with broken brick. There are traces of foundation walls on the top, but a former excavation shows that the whole mass is plain earth. There are traces also of walls on the slopes of the mound, and in an excavation amongst these superficial brick runs made by Mr. Lynch, Deputy Magistrate of Motihāri, there was found a seal of black earthen-ware, bearing a short inscription in characters of the Gupta period, that is, of the 2nd and 3rd century after Christ. The inscription, which consists of four letters, reads *Ataviā*. This is most probably only a name which may mean either *Atavi* + *ya*, "the forest born," or less probably *Ata* + *viya*, "the cause of motion." At the end of the name there is the *Svāstika*, or mystic cross, and over the name in the middle there is the symbol of *Dharmma*, and to the left, in a slanting direction, a trident, or *trisāl*. The discovery of this seal shows that Navandgarh Lauriya was certainly occupied by the Buddhists as late as the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. Doubtless their occupation continued to a later period, for, although both Fa-Hian and Hwen Thsang make no allusion to it, their silence is easily accounted for by the fact that the course of their travels did not take either of them into the Bettiah District. The two remaining barrows of this row are somewhat higher, mound D being 35 feet, and E. 45 feet. Both of them are covered with broken brick. The top of D had already been opened, and I myself made an excavation on the top of mound E. Both had flat tops, as if terraces had once existed on their summits, and with this impression I began my excavation. At the depth of 4 feet all trace of brick disappeared, the mass of the mound being plain earth. The bricks were large, $15" \times 9" \times 2\frac{1}{2}"$.

None of the barrows of the middle line have any traces of brick upon them, but seem to be made of plain earth. They are all covered with low thorny jungle. The most northerly mound of this line, marked H, is 25 feet in height; the next mound, marked G, is 20 feet; the next F is 50 feet; and the next M is 55 feet. The last two are the highest of all the barrows at Navandgarh Lauriya. The next mound N. is only 15 feet high, and the next southerly mound, marked Q, is 25 feet in height. About one-half of

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meter at base of 35·5 inches and of 26·2 inches at top. The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a lion facing the north.* The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food. The column has a light and elegant appearance, and is altogether a much more pleasing monument than the stouter and shorter pillar of Bakhra. The lion has been injured in the mouth, and the column itself bears the round mark of a cannon shot just below the capital, which has itself been slightly dislodged by the shock. One has not far to seek for the name of the probable author of this mischief. By the people the outrage is ascribed to the Musalmâns, and on the pillar itself, in beautifully cut Persian characters, is inscribed the name of *Mahî-ud-dîn Muhammad Aurangzib Pâdshâh Alamgir Ghâzi, Sanh, 1071*. This date corresponds with A. D. 1660-61, which was the fourth year of the reign of the bigotted Aurangzib, and the record may probably have been inscribed by some zealous follower in Mir Jumla's Army, which was then on its return from Bengal, after the death of the Emperor's brother Shuja. The Navandgarh Pillar is much thinner and much lighter than those of Ara-Râj and Bakhra. The weight of the polished portion of its shaft is only 18 tons, or rather less than half that of the Bakhra Pillar, and somewhat more than half that of the Ara-Râj Pillar.

The pillar is inscribed with the edicts of Asoka in the same clear and beautifully cut characters as those of the Ara-Râj Pillar. The two inscriptions, with only a few trifling variations, correspond letter for letter. I made a careful copy of the whole for comparison with the text made public by James Prinsep. I made also a facsimile impression in ink.

The Navandgarh Pillar has been visited by numerous travellers, as it stands in the direct route from Bettiah to Nepal. There are a few unimportant inscriptions in modern Nâgari, the oldest being dated in *Samvat* 1566, *chait badî* 10, equivalent to A. D. 1509. One of them, without date, refers to some petty Royal Family, *Nripa Narayana Suta, Nripa Amara Singha*, that is, "King Amara Singha, the son of King Narayana." The only English inscription is the name of *Rn. Burrow*, 1792.

* See Plate XXII for a view of this pillar

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the building would almost certainly have been a stupa; for we know that the people of Pâwâ, after the cremation of Buddha's body, obtained one-eighth of the relics, over which they erected a stupa. The entrance to the court-yard would appear to have been on the east side, where the mound is now low and thickly covered with bricks.

In a small roofless brick building at a short distance to the northward, there are a few old figures. This temple is dedicated to Hâthi Bhawâni, or the Elephant Goddess, who is accordingly propitiated with rude votive figures of elephants in baked clay, of which numbers lie scattered about the temple, both inside and outside. The statue called Hâthi Bhawâni represents a squatted male figure with a triple umbrella over his head. The figure appears to be naked, and if so, it must belong to the Jains, and not to the Buddhists. A drawing of it is given by Buchanan *. There are also two fragments with seated Buddhas, and a third with the upper half of a female figure. On referring to Buchanan I recognized all three fragments as having belonged to the statue sketched as fig. 2 in his plate. The principal figure is now gone, but there are a few unimportant fragments not noticed by Buchanan, and in the village there is the pedestal of a statue.

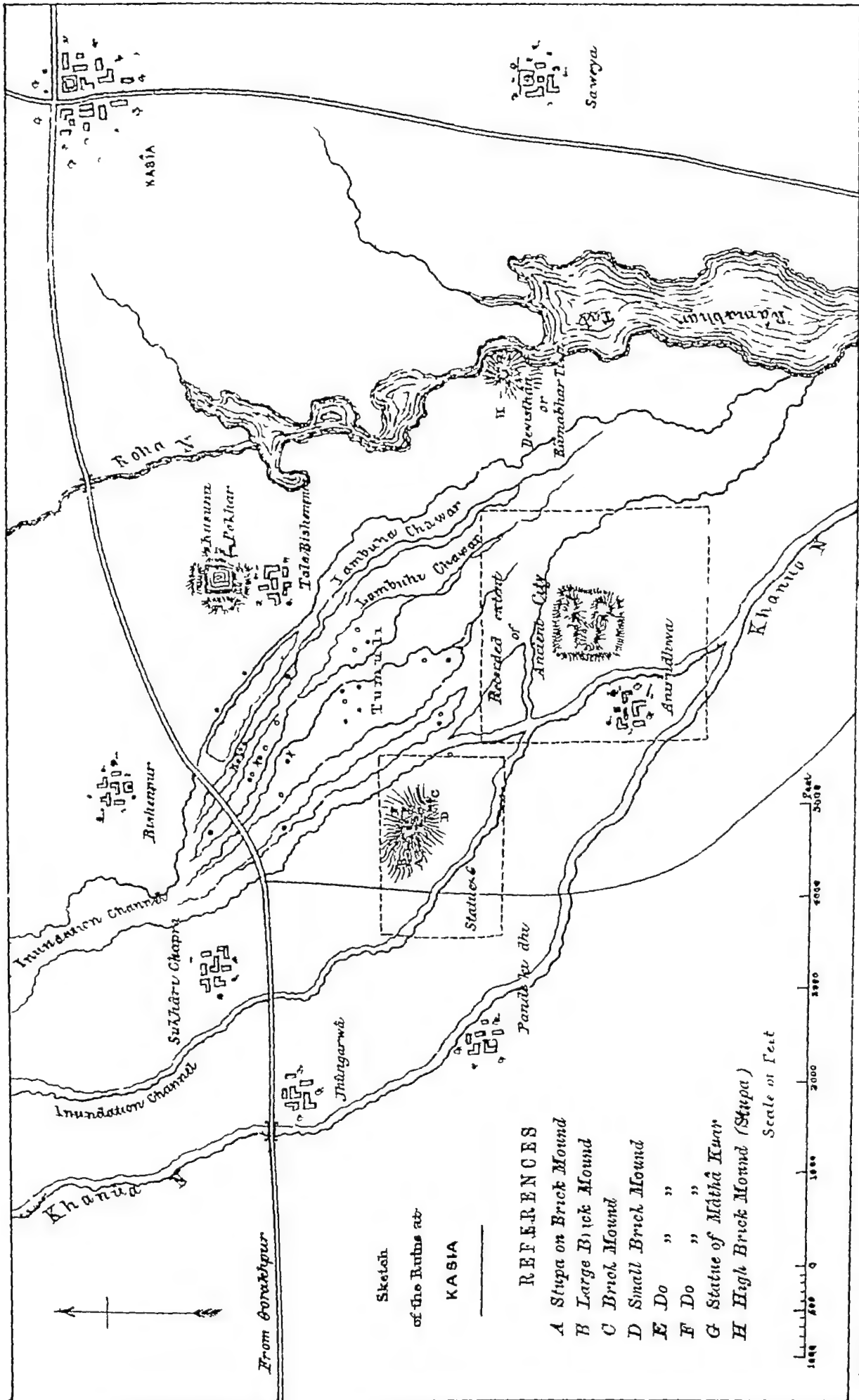
I made an excavation on the highest part of the mound on the west side, and to the northward of the zemindar's excavation. In this I found bricks with rounded edges such as I had noticed in the mouldings of the Great Temple at Buddha-Gya, and of the stupa at Giryek. I found also wedge-shaped bricks of two sizes. The largest ones being only fragments, I was unable to ascertain their length, but their breadth was $20\frac{3}{4}$ at the end, and $19\frac{1}{4}$ inches at 6 inches distance. As the larger end was rounded, these bricks must have formed part of some circular building and most probably of a solid stupa, which would have been just 30 feet in diameter. The smaller bricks were $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches broad at the widest end, and 5 inches at the narrow end, with a thickness of $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. These may have belonged to a small stupa about 9 feet in diameter. In my excavation I found also the base of a pillar of coarse grey sandstone. It was 15 inches square and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with a few plain

* Eastern India, II, Plate I, Fig 2

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Litho at the Survey Genl's Office Cal October 1871

A. Cunningham del

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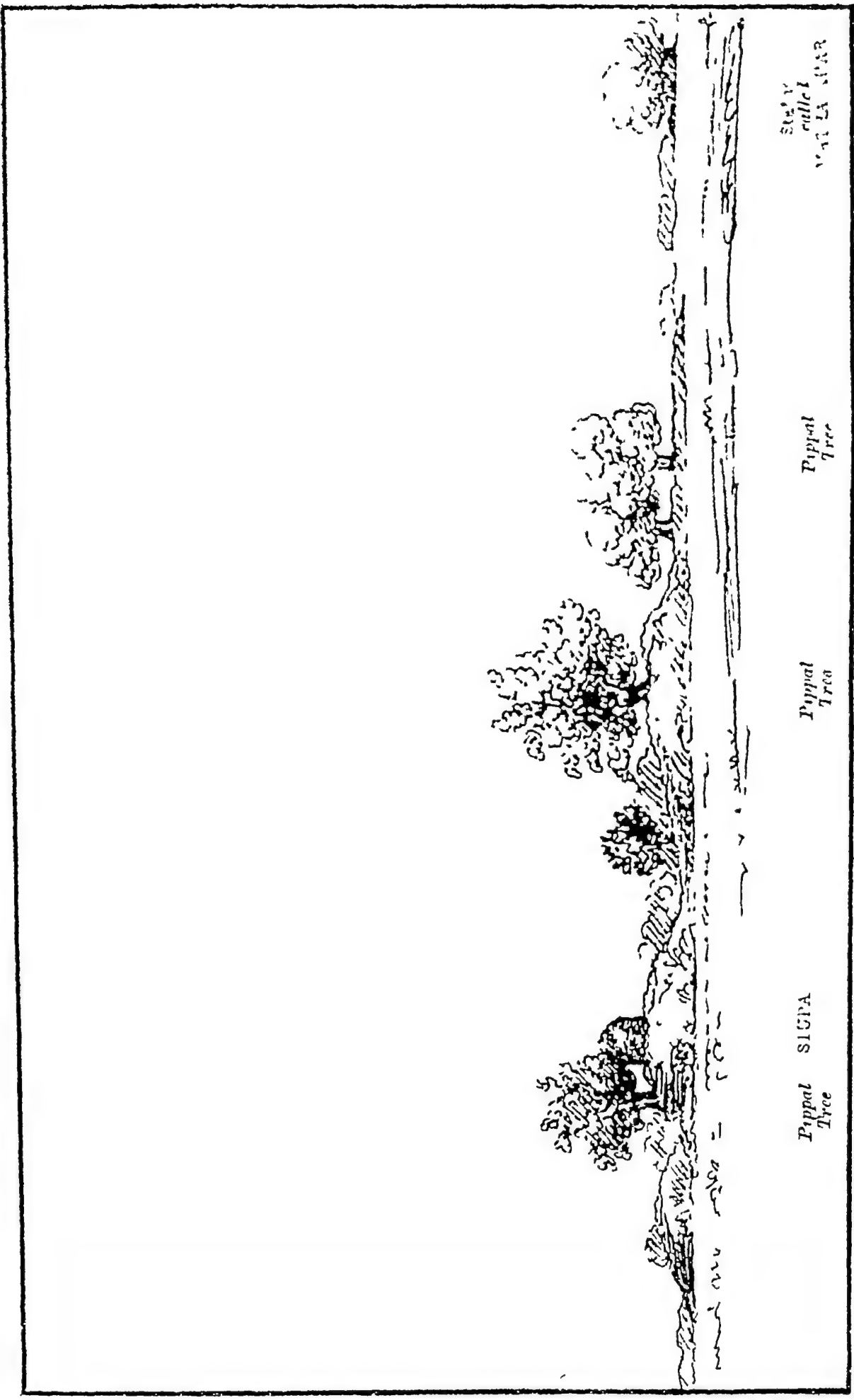
The mound called *Devisthán* and *Rámābhār Tila* is the ruin of a large ancient stupa of solid brick-work, which is still 19 feet in height above the fields. It is situated somewhat less than one mile to the south-west of Kasia. On the top, under a fine old Banian Tree, is the shrine of the goddess Devi. There is neither statue nor building, but only some votive figures in baked clay, the offerings of the poor people to their favourite Devi. The goddess is also called *Rámābhār Bhairān*, because the mound is situated on the western bank of the *Rámābhār Jhal*, a large natural sheet of water, which forms part of the bed of the *Roha Nala*, one of the old channels of the Little Gandak. As the mound is also called *Rámābhār Tila*, it is possible that this name may have originally belonged to the stupa. I attempted to make an excavation at the top of the mound, but the large interlaced roots of the Banian Tree soon forced me to give up the work. At the south-eastern foot of the mound I discovered a portion of a small stupa formed of very large bricks, averaging 5 inches in thickness. These bricks were $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and wedge-shaped, being $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad at one end, and only 7 inches at the other end. These dimensions would give a diameter of only $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the stupa.

The large mound called *Máthá-Kuar-la-kot*, or the "Fort of Matha-Kuar," is 600 feet in length from north-west to south-east, and from 200 to 300 feet in breadth. At its highest point, which is 30 feet 3 inches in height above the plain, the mound is formed entirely of solid brick-work, which I believe to be the remains of a very ancient stupa. On this point stands a solid tower of brick-work with sides much ruined, and its top covered with long grass. This is undoubtedly a stupa, and from its position it must be of much later date than the ancient mass of brick-work on which it stands. I conclude that it is a work of middle age, or between A. D. 200 and 600. At present the mass of the tower is only 24 feet thick, but by clearing away the rubbish, I measured a circumference of 86 feet, which gives a diameter of nearly $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The present height of the lower portion is only 15 feet, and that of the grass-covered top, 12 feet 9 inches, the whole being 27 feet 9 inches above the ancient foundation, and 58 feet above the plain. But as the original height of this later work was most probably equal to two diameters, or 55 feet, the whole height of the stupa above the plain would have been 85 feet. I drove a horizontal gallery into the

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Stacy
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1,100 feet from the brick stupa above described. Quite close beside it, to the eastward, there is a low square mound which I believe to be the remains of a temple in which the image was formerly enshrined. The statue which is made of the dark blue stone of Gaya, is split into two pieces from top to bottom, and is otherwise much injured. The short inscription on its pedestal has been almost worn out by the villagers in sharpening their tools, but the few letters which remain are sufficient to show that the statue is not of older date than the 11th or 12th century. The figure itself is colossal, and represents Buddha the Ascetic seated under the Bodhi Tree at Budha-Gaya. The whole sculpture is $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height by $4\frac{3}{4}$ feet in breadth. The height of the figure alone is 5 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the breadth across the shoulders being 3 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and across the knees 4 feet 5 inches. A sketch of this sculpture is given by Buchanan *.

Between the Fort of *Máthá Kuár* and the great stupa on the *Rámábhár Jhíl*, there is a low mound of brick ruins about 500 feet square, which is said to have been a *kot* or fort, and to which no name is given, but as it lies close to the village of Anrudhwâ on the north-west, it may be called the Anrudhwâ mound. There is nothing now left to show the nature of the buildings which once stood on this site; but from the square shape of the ruins, it may be conjectured with some probability that they must be the remains of a monastery. There are three fine Pipal Trees now standing on the mound.

To the north and east of the mound of *Máthá Kuár* the plain is covered with a number of low grassy mounds from 3 to 6 feet in height, and from 12 to 25 feet in diameter. Regarding these barrows the people have a tradition that gypsies were formerly very numerous about Kasía, and that these mounds are the tumuli of their dead. I opened three of them, but without making any discovery. They were all formed of plain earth, without any trace of bones, or ashes, or broken bricks. The people call them simply mounds, but I was informed by an old man that he had heard them styled *Bhímáwát*, and that ghosts were sometimes seen flitting about them. If the name of *Bhímáwát* has any reference to these ghosts, it might, perhaps, be translated as the "fear-

* Eastern India, II, Plate II.

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know from Hwen Thsang that on the spot where Buddha died there was a brick *vihār* or temple monastery in which was enshrined a recumbent statue of Buddha on his death-bed, with his head turned to the north. Now this statue would naturally have been the principal object of veneration at Kusinagara, and, although amongst the learned it might have been called the "statue of the Nirvana," yet I can readily believe that its more popular name amongst all classes would have been the "statue of the Dead Prince." I am, therefore, of opinion that the name of *Mathā Kuar*, which still clings to the ruins of Kasia, has a direct reference to the death of Buddha, which, according to his followers, took place at Kusinagara on the full moon of Vaisākhi, 513 B. C.

Owing to the wanderings of the Little Gandak River, it is somewhat difficult to follow Hwen Thsang's account of the sacred edifices at Kusinagara. The whole of the existing remains are situated to the eastward of the *Khanna Nāla*, which is only a branch or inundation channel of the Little Gandak River. All the old channels are called *Chawar*; the *Jambuha Chawar*, running between the two ancient stupas, and the *Roha Chawar*, or Roha Nāla, to the east of the Ramābhār Tila. An intelligent man, whom I met at Padraona, called the stream to the westward of *Kasia* the *Hirana*, but the people in the villages about the ruin knew only the *Khanna Nāla*, and had never heard of the *Hirana*. Buchanan, however, calls the *Hirana* a considerable rivulet which has a course of about 15 miles, and makes it a feeder of the Little Gandak,* but there is some confusion in his description of this river. The changes of name would, however, appear to have been as numerous as the changes of channel, for, in the time of Hwen Thsang, this stream was called the *Ajitavati*, its more ancient name having been *Hiranyavati*, while the present name is *Chota Gandak*, and the eastern inundation branch is called *Khanna*. There is now no trace of Hwen Thsang's *Ajitavati*, but the name of *Hiranyavati* is still preserved in the *Hirana* of my Padraona informant.

At the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, the walls of Kusinagara were in ruins, and the place was almost deserted; but the brick foundations of the old Capital occupied a

* Eastern India, II, p. 316

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regard to the slight difference of name, I have already stated my belief that the name of the present village should in all probability be written *Kāsīa* instead of *Kasīa*, and in favour of this spelling I may add that the name is variously spelt in the Buddhist Books as *Kusigrāmaka*, *Kusināra*, *Kusimāgara*, and *Kusinagara*.

After the death of Buddha, the assembled Bhikshus (or mendicants) were consoled by the Venerable Anuruddha, who assured them that he saw the Devatas looking down from the skies upon earth, and weeping and bewailing with dishevelled hair and up-lifted arms.* Anuruddha was the first cousin of Buddha, being the second son of Amitodana, one of the brothers of Suddhodana, the father of Sākya Sinha. He was one of the ten great disciples of his cousin, and was renowned for his penetrating sight. Accordingly, on the death of Buddha, he took the lead of all the disciples present, and conducted their proceedings. By his directions Ananda made known the death of Buddha to the Mallian Nobles, who at once proceeded to the spot with garlands of flowers, and numerous cloths and music. For six days the body lay in state, attended by the people of Kusināra. On the seventh day, when eight of the Mallian Nobles, who had been selected to carry the corpse to the place of cremation, attempted to lift it, they found themselves unable to move it. The amazed Nobles, on enquiring of the Venerable Anuruddha the cause of this prodigy, were informed that their intention of carrying the corpse through the southern gate to the south of the city was contrary to the intention of the Devatas. "Lord," said the Mallian Nobles, "whatever be the intention of the Devatas, be it acceded to." Accordingly, the corpse was borne by the eight Mallian Chieftains, on a bier formed of their lances, through the northern gate to the centre of the town, and then through the eastern gate to the coronation hall of the Mallians, where the funeral pile had been prepared. Four Noble Mallians then advanced and applied their torches to the funeral pile, but they were unable to ignite it. Again the baffled Nobles inquired of Anuruddha the cause of this second prodigy, who informed them that it was the intention of the Devatas that the corpse should not be burnt until the arrival of Mahā Kāśyapa, the chief disciple of Buddha. At that

* Turnour in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1838, p. 1009.

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have been loosely described by one party as lying to the *north*, and by the other as lying to the *east*.

But the *Rāmābhār Tīla*, perhaps, corresponds more exactly with the site of another stupa, which is described by Hwen Thsang as having been built by Asoka near the ancient dwelling of Chanda, to the north-east of the city gates. This account, however, is somewhat vague, as no particular gate is specified. The existence also of a second stupa at the south-east foot of the *Rāmābhār Tīla* is against this identification, as only one stupa is mentioned on this site by Hwen Thsang. I am, therefore, strongly inclined to identify the *Rāmābhār Tīla* with the famous cremation stupa ; but if this position should be considered too far to the eastward to agree with Hwen Thsang's description, then the cremation tower must have occupied some position to the north of the Anrudhwâ mound in the very midst of the ancient channel of the little Gandak River. I confess, however, that my own opinion is against this conclusion, and in favor of the identification of the *Rāmābhār Tīla* with the cremation stupa.

XXI. KHUKHUNDO.

On leaving Kusinagara Hwen Thsang directed his steps towards Banâras, and, after having travelled about 200 *li*, or upwards of 30 miles, to the south-west, he reached a large town, in which dwelt a very rich Brahman devoted to Buddhism.* If we adhere closely to the south-west bearing, we must identify this large town with Rudrapur, an ancient place 30 miles to the south-east of Gorakhpur, and 28 miles in a direct line from *Kasîa*. But as Hwen Thsang speaks of the Brahman's hospitality to travellers going and coming, it would appear certain that the town must have been on the high road leading from *Kasîa* to Banâras. Now the high road can never have passed through Rudrapur, as it would have entailed the passage of the *Rapti* in addition to that of the *Ghâgra* River. I have had some experience in the laying out of roads, and I feel quite satisfied that, the old high road must have crossed the *Ghâgra* somewhere below its junction with the *Rapti*. According to the people, the old passage of the *Ghâgra* was at *Marî*, four miles to the south of Kahaon, and three miles to the north of Bhâgalpur. From

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, p 349

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ruins I have distinguished them by different letters of the alphabet, and under these letters I will now describe them.¹

Mound A. is 100 feet square at base and 6 feet in height. There is a *Bel* tree (*Ægle Marmelos*) on the top, and a *Pākar* (*Ficus Venosa*) on the west side. Under the *Bel* tree there is a good figure of the four-armed Vishnu in sandstone, with a peculiar rayed halo, which is boldly pierced through the slab.

Mound B., which is 50 feet square at base and 10 feet high, is called *Siva-ka-Tīla* or Siva's mound, because there are the foundations of a *lingam* temple on its summit, the temple was only 8 feet square, but the *lingam* in blue stone is still perfect. There is one good piece of sculpture representing two seated figures, male and female, the latter with a child in her arms. A tree rises behind them, and with its branches forms a canopy over their heads. The figures, which appear to be entirely naked with the exception of some ornaments, are, I believe, Mahadeva and his wife Devi, or Bhavāni, represented as the goddess of fecundity, with a child in her arms. Another sculpture represents a four-armed female standing in what appears to be the prow of a boat. The subordinate figure of Gansea, on the upper right hand, shows that the principal figure must be Pārvati, the wife of Siva.

Mound C is 120 feet in length, by 110 feet in breadth, and 15 feet in height. On the top there are the ruined walls of a brick temple, from 4 to 5 feet in height, forming a room of 9 feet square, with a *lingam* in the centre. To the southwest there is a walled entrance built of bricks of different sizes, and containing one piece of moulded bricks with a flower ornament. The small size of the room, the mixture of large and small bricks in the walls, and the unusual direction of the entrance, all lead me to conclude that this is an insignificant modern structure, built of bricks of all kinds found on the surface of the mound.

On both sides of the entrance there are several sculptures in sandstone, of which the principal is a statue of Ganesa. The other sculptures are a broken statue of Ganesa with his rat; the pedestal of a statue with a foot resting on a bull;

* See Plate XXVIII. for a plan of these ruins.

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Mound J., which is 75 feet square at base, and 15 feet in height, has also been recently excavated. I was able to trace the straight walls of a temple, and in the excavated holes I found large thick pieces of plaster, which had once covered the walls. There are no sculptures now lying about this mound, but immediately to the south of it, and outside a small modern Jain temple, there is a very fine standing figure of the four-armed Vishnu in blue stone. The head and arms are gone, but the rest of the sculpture is in good order. On the left side there are the Fish, the Tortoise, and the Boar *Avatárs*, and on the right the Buddha and the *Kálhí Avatárs*. The five missing incarnations must have been lost with the head of the figure. This fine statue was probably enshrined in a temple now represented by mound J.

The Jain temple is a small square flat-roofed brick building of recent date. There are no Jains now living at Khukhundo, but the temple is visited by the Baniyas and Bankers of Gorakhpur and Patna. Inside the temple there is a large naked figure in blue stone, sitting squatted with his hands in his lap. Overhead there is a triple umbrella, and above that a *Dundubhí* Musician flying with his drum. On the pedestal there is a bull with a lion on each side. Now the bull is the cognizance of Adi Buddha, the first of the 24 Jain Pontiffs. The people are, therefore, mistaken in calling the figure a statue of *Párswanáth*, whose well known symbol is a snake. Outside the temple, however, there is another naked Jain statue which has two snakes twisted around its pedestal, and is, therefore, most probably a figure of *Práswanáth*. It is possible that this may have been the original figure enshrined in the temple. Another sculpture, in coarse sand-stone, represents the same naked couple, male and female, whom I have before described. A tree rises behind them, and with its boughs forms a canopy over their heads. Over all there is a small squatted figure like a Buddha, but naked. The male figure in this sculpture has a lotus in his right hand.

Mound K., which is crowned with a fine Tamarind tree, is the largest mass of ruin at Khukhundo. It is 120 feet square at base and 16 feet in height. At 10 feet above the ground level I made an excavation at a point on the western edge, where I observed something like a piece of terraced flooring. My excavation uncovered a portion of terraced

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bricks could not have been removed above a few days, as the sides of the excavated hole still preserved the shape of the walls exactly. In form the building was an octagon of 14 feet across, with projections on the four sides facing the cardinal points. On the north-east side a portion of solid brick-work still remained, but not of sufficient thickness to show whether the building had been solid or hollow. As far as my experience goes, the only buildings of this shape are Buddhist *stupas*, as at *Dhamnār* and *Kholu* in Malwa, or *Baragaon* (or *Nālanda*) in Bihār, and throughout Pegu and Burmah. In all instances the four projecting sides form niches for statues of the previous Buddhas. In the gigantic *Shwe-Dagon* stupa at Rangoon, these niches are expanded into distinct temples enshrining colossal figures. I incline, therefore, to conclude that the building recently excavated in mound Z was a Buddhist stupa. But if Brahmanical temples of this form have ever been built, I should certainly prefer to consider mound Z. as the ruin of another orthodox temple, and to add one more to the long list of Brahmanical remains at Khukhundo.

With the exception of *Baragaon* (the ancient *Nālanda*), I have seen no place where the ruins offer such a promise of valuable discovery as at Khukhundo. The mounds are all low, and as they appear to be the ruins of temples, the work of excavation would be comparatively easy. I think that it would be sufficient to remove the top of each mound down to the level of the floor of the building, clearing away the rubbish entirely, but leaving the walls standing to show the plan of the building. Amongst the rubbish we might expect to find both statues and inscriptions, and perhaps other objects, all of which would help to throw light on the rise and progress of modern Brahmanism, more particularly during the long period of its struggles with expiring Buddhism.*

XXII KAHAEON

The village of Kahaon is situated eight miles to the south of Khukhundo, and 46 miles to the south-east of Gorakhpur in a direct line. To the north of the village there is a stone pillar, and also some other remains, which have been

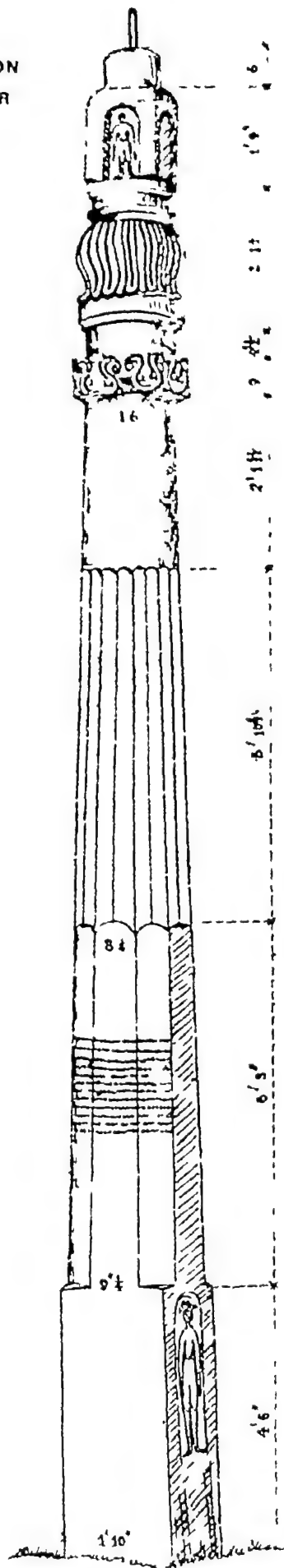
* As far as I am aware nothing has yet been done towards the excavation of these mounds

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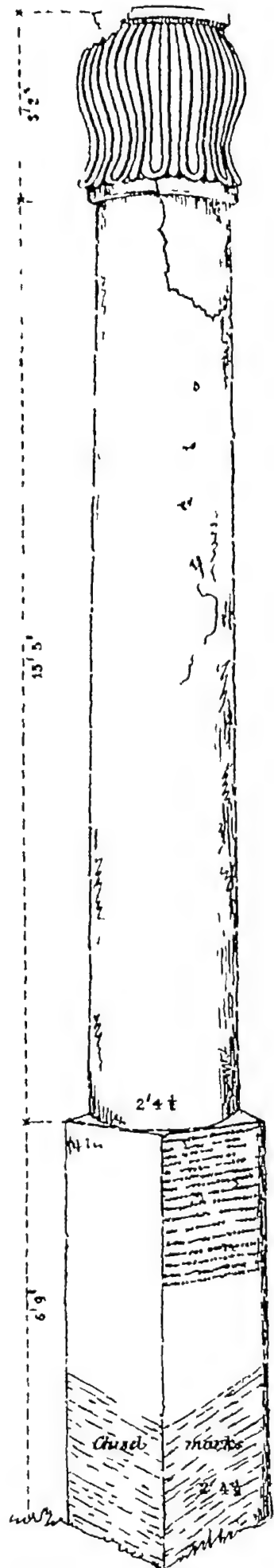
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KAHAN
PILLAR



BHITARI
PILLAR



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rampant; but whatever the pinnacle may have been, its height could not have exceeded $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 feet. The total height of the column, therefore, must have been about 27 feet. The lower part of the shaft, to a height of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, is a square of 1 foot 10 inches; above this, for a height of 6 feet 3 inches, it is octagonal, then sixteen-sided for a height of 5 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and then circular for a height of 2 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Above this, for a height of 9 inches, the pillar becomes square with a side of 18 inches, and then circular again for a height of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, making the total height of the shaft 19 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The height of the capital, in its present incomplete state, is 4 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The lower portion, which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, is bell-shaped, with circular bands of moulding both above and below. The bell itself is reeded, after the fashion of the Asoka pillars. Above this the capital is square, with a small niche on each side holding a naked standing figure. The square top slopes backward on all sides, and is surmounted by a low circular band, in which is fixed the metal spike already described.*

On the western face of the square base there is a niche holding a naked standing figure, with very long arms reaching to his knees. Behind, there is a large snake folded in horizontal coils, one above the other, and with its seven heads forming a canopy over the idol. Two small figures, male and female, are kneeling at the feet, and looking up to the idol with offerings in their hands.

On the three northern faces of the octagonal portion of the pillar, there is an inscription of 12 lines in the Gupta characters of the Allahabad Pillar†. There is a good copy of this inscription in Buchanan,‡ and another and better copy in Prinsep's Journal.§ In the translation given by James Prinsep, the date was read as being 133 years after the decease of *Skanda Gupta*, instead of in the year 133, after the death of Skanda. The true number of the year is 141, as pointed out by Professor FitzEdward Hall, but the epoch or era in which the years are reckoned is doubtful. Professor Hall, on the authority of *Bāpu Deva Sāstri*, the

* See Plate XXIX

† See Plate XXX

‡ Eastern India, II, Plate V

§ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1838, Plate I

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Immediately to the north of the pillar, and on the highest point of the mound, there are traces of the brick walls of some buildings; and to the south-east, there is an old well which has been lately filled up. Buchanan describes the pillar as having originally "stood in a small quadrangular area, surrounded by a brick wall, and probably by some small chambers." I presume that the pillar must have been placed opposite the entrance of the temple, in which the *Panchendra* or five images of Indra were enshrined. It is probable that there were several temples and other buildings crowded around the pillar, otherwise it will be difficult to account for the great size of the mound, which, though not more than 6 feet in height above the fields, extends from west to east upwards of 1,200 feet, with an average breadth of 400 feet.

XXIII HATHIYA-DAH.

Twelve miles to the east of Deogong, and nearly midway between Azimgarh and Banâras, there is an old dry tank, called *Hathiya-dah*, or the "Elephant's Tank," with an inscribed pillar standing in the middle of it. The pillar itself is called *Hathiya-dah-la-lât*. The name is derived from a large stone elephant, 5 feet 6 inches in length, and 4 feet 10 inches in height, which stands to the north-west of the pillar, at a distance of 138 feet. Both the pillar and the elephant are formed of a coarse grey sand-stone, and they have accordingly suffered from exposure to the weather, and are now much worn. The shaft of the pillar is a single block, 12 feet 9 inches in height and 1 foot 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, both at base and top. Originally it must have been several feet higher, but the bed of the tank has gradually silted up, and in the month of March bore a fine crop of wheat. The capital is a flat circular slab, slightly rounded on the upper edge, and quite plain. In fact, the pillar is a mere cylindrical block intended apparently for the sole purpose of exhibiting the inscription. To the west of the pillar there is a low mound of brick ruins, 170 feet in length from north to south, and 25 feet broad. It is called *Swari-ka-Tila*, or "Sivaris' Mound;" but the people have no tradition about it, and do not know what is the meaning of the names. Most probably it has some reference to a temple of Siva, which may have stood there in former days. The villages nearest to the pillar are *Singhpura* to the north,

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ture. Some of the mounds appear to be mere heaps of broken stone and brick—the gatherings from the fields after each season's ploughing. The larger mounds, which run parallel to each other from the bridge towards the village, seem to me to be only the ruins of houses that once formed the two sides of a street. The remaining mounds, which are of square form and isolated, are at present covered with Musalman tombs; but I have little doubt that all of them were originally either temples or other Hindu buildings. That one of these mounds belonged originally to the Hindus, we have an undoubted proof in the existence of the inscribed stone pillar, which stands partially buried in the rubbish of its eastern slope, and in the discovery at the foot of the pillar of an old brick inscribed with the name of *Sri Kumāra Gupta*. The early occupation of the place by the Hindus is further proved by the discovery of several Hindu statues and *lingams* in the rubbish about the mounds, and by the finding of numerous bricks inscribed with *Kumāra Gupta's* name in the fields*. I obtained further proof of the same by the purchase on the spot of three Indo-Sassanian coins of base silver, which probably date from the 8th or 9th century, and of one small round copper coin with an elephant on the obverse, and a peculiar symbol, supposed to be a *Charhya*, on the reverse, which cannot, in my opinion, be of later date than the invasion of Alexander the Great.

The Bhitari Pillar is a single block of reddish sand-stone, apparently from one of the Chunar quarries. The shaft of the pillar is circular, with a diameter of 2 feet $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and a height of 15 feet 5 inches†. The base is square, but its height is rather uncertain. The upper portion, on which the inscription is cut, has been smoothed, but the lower portion, as far as my excavation went, still bears the marks of the chisel, although not very deep. My excavation was carried down to the level of the adjoining fields, a depth of 6 feet 9 inches below the top of the base, without finding any trace of a pedestal; and as it is most probable that the inscription was placed on a level with the eye, I would fix the height of the original base at about 6 feet, thus giving it an elevation of only 9 inches above the level of the country.

* See Plate XXX for sketches of these bricks

† See Plate XXIX. for a view of this pillar

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From the copy which I prepared in January 1836, a translation was made by Dr Mill, which was published in Prinsep's Journal for January 1837. My re-examination of the inscription has corrected some of Dr. Mill's proposed readings, while it has confirmed many of them, a few being still doubtful owing to the abraded state of the letters. As translated by Dr. Mill, the inscription refers chiefly to the reign of *Skanda Gupta*, closing with his death, and the accession of his infant son. The object of the inscription was to record the erection of a sacred image, the name of which Dr Mill was unable to read, but which may possibly be recovered when my new copy is re-translated by some competent scholar. In my remarks on the lower inscription on the Bihâr Pillar, I have already noticed that all the remaining part of the *upper* portion of it, which contains the genealogy, is letter for letter identical with the first part of Bhitari record, and I repeat the notice here for the purpose of adding that, by a comparison of the two inscriptions, every letter of the upper part of both, or about one-third of the whole, may be restored without chance of error.*

The sculptures now to be seen at Bhitari are very few, but they are sufficient to show the former existence of several large stone temples. In the village there is a colossal figure of *Ganesa*, and a broken bas-relief of the *Navagraha*, or "Nine Planets" The colossal statue must almost certainly have been the principal figure enshrined in a temple dedicated to *Ganesa*. There is also a large slab with a half-size two-armed female figure, attended by another female figure holding an umbrella over her, both in very high relief. The figures in this sculpture are in the same style and in the same attitudes as those of the similar group of the Râja and his umbrella attendant on the gold coins of the Gupta Princes. This sculpture, I believe, represents a queen on her way to worship at the temple. The group is a favorite, one with Hindu artists, and, as far as my observation goes, it is never used singly, but always in pairs—one on each side of the door-way of a temple. The age of this sculpture I am inclined to fix as early as the time of the Gupta Kings, partly on account of the similarity of style to that of their gold coins, partly also because the pillar belongs to one of

* The two inscriptions may now be compared in Plates XVII. and XXX.—See my previous remarks in note in page 28

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imposing edifice. The nature of the ground has been skilfully brought to bear; and it would seem that the west face was merely scarped towards the river, having been originally very high (perhaps thirty feet), whilst to the east a large space has been lowered a few feet to provide earth to raise an embankment, in digging through which no traces of masonry can be found. On the south face the line is by no means straight, the nature of the ground having been followed, and the high bank of a tank already formed having been merely added to the north face is more regular.

“Each of these sides had large mounds, upon which were either temples or forts. There is one of these at each corner, and one-half way on each side, whilst the spur before alluded to, which forms the south-west corner, has certainly been long ago crowned with a large Buddhist temple, now re-placed with a shabby Idgah. Within this enclosure were evidently many large buildings, and their former presence is attested by the *kheras* or mounds of broken brick and earth scattered in every direction. At present there is a small winding bazar of insignificant shops, all, however, built of old bricks. There is also a large suburb, if it may be so termed, of ruinous brick houses with but few inhabitants. The surrounding mounds and embankments are dotted over with Muhammadan tombs, mostly of very recent erection, and many of which are built with the large nearly-square Buddhist bricks.

“But to proceed to the object of this notice, *viz*, the Buddhist remains at Bhitari—1st, there is a large monolith standing, as nearly as possible, in the centre of the place. This is $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, and stands upon a rough stone 7 or 8 feet below the present level of the soil. For the first 10 feet 2 inches it is square, and stands, as nearly as possible, facing the cardinal points. At the top of the square part is an inscription which is stated by General Cunningham to contain a record of Skanda Gupta; this faces east. The upper part, including the capital which takes up about three feet, is circular, and where it joins the square part is 2 feet 3 inches in diameter, and apparently of even thickness in its whole length. The capital is handsomely fluted, and has a slice broken off it. There is also a flaw near the top in the pillar itself, which is one solid piece of sand-stone, resembling that found at Chunar, being of the hard kind.

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some 9 feet in height, the result of which merely proved it to have an ancient dust heap ; A third, through a very high and likely mound resulted in nothing but earth and broken bricks ; Another has since been made, but the results were the same as in the other cases The reason for this is very plain : Each of these mounds represents an ancient edifice not, perhaps, of the time of the Buddhists (for the bricks do not bear that character), but the constant excavation of foundations for the past 200 years for the purpose of building has produced the results above alluded to Each party has taken the bricks he needed and filled in again the rubbish.

“ Just below the Idgah and exterior to the work is an old Muhammadan bridge across the Gāngi Nadi, which might be repaired with advantage. This has been entirely constructed with the cut-stones taken from the Buddhist structure above. The date of its erection may have been from 200 to 250 years, since or subsequent to the erection of that of Jonpur, which it resembles in many points. The carved work is built inwards.

“ There are around Bhitari, at some little distance, say a quarter or half a mile, a number of detached mounds evidently of Buddhist origin, and apparently of artificial construction. These might repay excavation.

“ In conclusion, I would beg to suggest with all deference, and without access to books, my knowledge must be limited that Bhitari was of old a strongly fortified earthen camp, in which there was at least one large Buddhist temple and several edifices in connection with the same ; but nothing short of a lengthened residence on the spot, together with careful exploration, can ever accurately determine the nature of the latter It is difficult to account for the base of the monolith being so far below the present level of the soil with which it does not appear to me ever to have been even.”

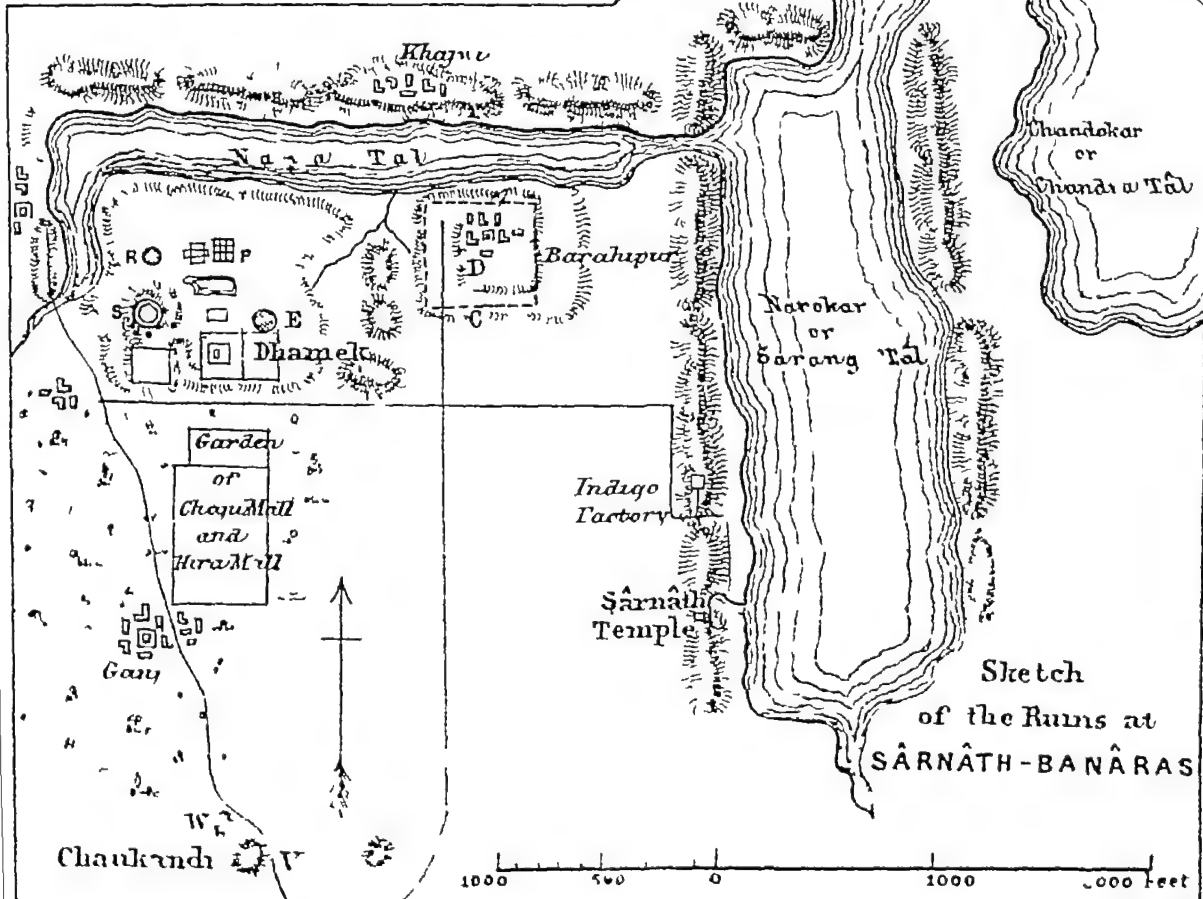
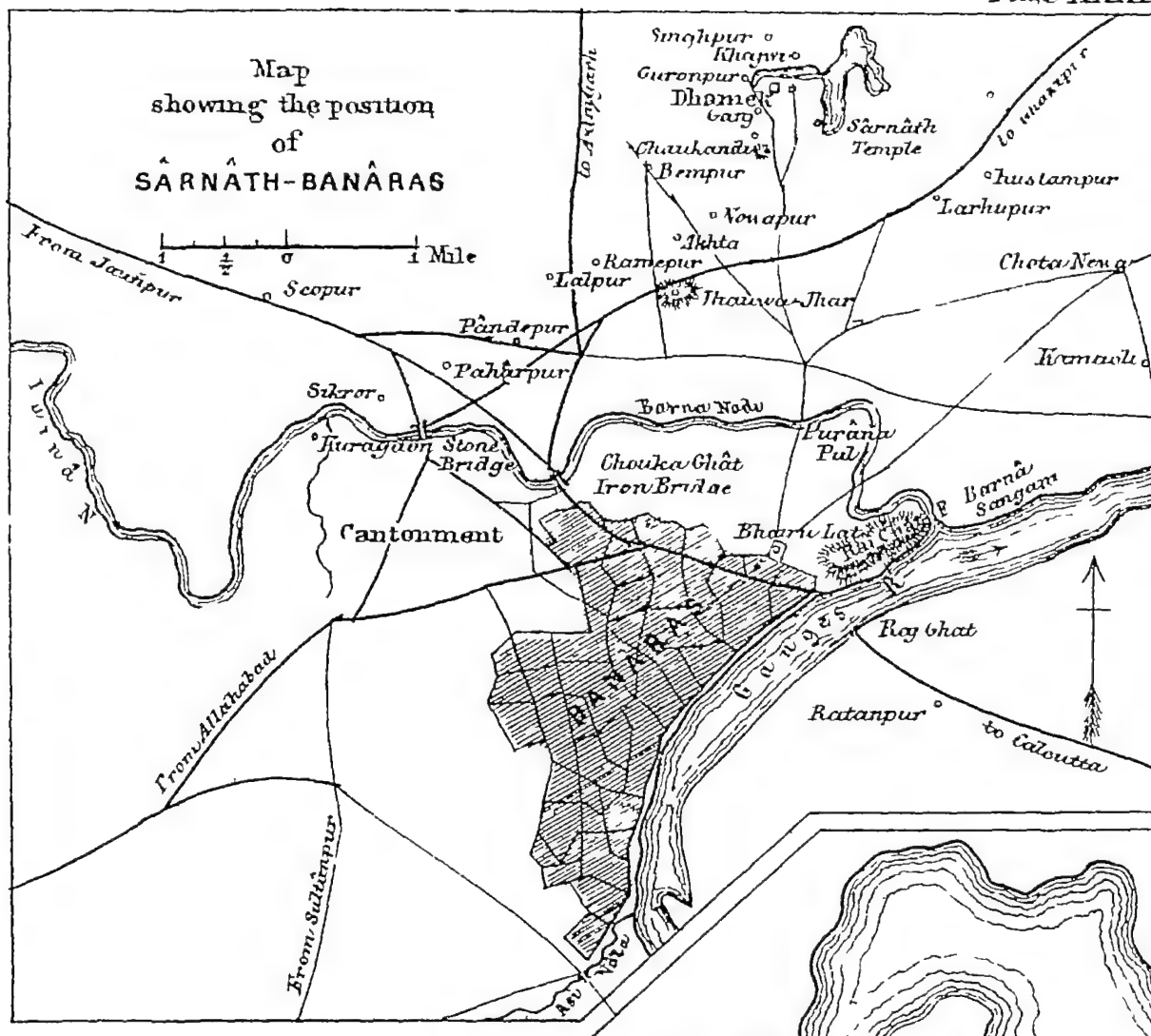
XXV BANARAS, SARNATH

Banâras is celebrated amongst the Buddhists as the scene where their great teacher first expounded his doctrine, or, as they metaphorically express it, where he first began to “ turn the wheel of the law ” This is one of the four great events in the life of Buddha, and accordingly it forms one of the most common subjects of Buddhist sculpture In the

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and accordingly temples have been erected both at *Barna Sangam* below the city, and at *Asi Sangam* above the city. From the joint names of these two streams, which bound the city to the north and south, the Brahmans derive *Varanasi* or *Vâranasi*, which is said to be the Sanskrit form of the name of Banâras. But the more usual derivation amongst the common people is from Râja *Banâr*, who is said to have re-built the city about 800 years ago.

The Buddhist remains of Banâras are situated nearly due north, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant from the outskirts of the city, at a place popularly known by the name of *Sârnâth*. This name, which is usually applied to the great Buddhist tower, or stupa, belongs properly to a small Brahmanical temple on the western bank of the lake, while the great tower itself is called *Dhamek*. An annual fair is held close to the temple of Sârnâth, and there is an indigo factory only 200 yards to the north of it. The name of Sârnâth was, accordingly, well known both to the Natives and to the English, and when the neighbouring ruins first attracted attention, they were always referred to by that name. The earliest mention of them is by Jonathan Duncan in 1794, in his account of the discovery of two Urns by Babu Jagat Singh "in the vicinity of a temple called Sârnâth"* It is possible that Duncan here refers to the Brahmanical "temple," but in the subsequent notices by Wilford and James Prinsep, both of whom had resided for many years at Banâras, the name of Sârnâth is always applied to the great tower. The same name is given to the tower in an engraving which was published in 1834 in Captain Elliot's *Views in India*.

Sârnâth means supply the "best Lord," which title is here applied to the god Mahâdeva, whose symbol, the *lingam*, is enshrined in the small temple on the bank of the lake. I believe, however, that the name is only an abbreviation of *Sârangganâtha*, or the "Lord of Deer," which would also be an appropriate epithet for Mahâdeva, who is frequently represented as holding a deer in his left hand. As the lake in front of the temple is still occasionally called "*Sârang Tâl*," my conjecture that the true name was *Sarangga Nath* seems a very probably one; but I would refer the epithet to Buddha himself, who in a former existence was fabled to have roamed

* Asiatic Researches, V, p. 131.

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the *Naya Tal*, or "New Tank," which is upwards of half a mile in length, but little more than 300 feet in width *

At the north-eastern end of the mass of ruin is situated the village of *Baráhi*, which, as I infer from the spelling, must have been named after *Vajra Paráhi*, a goddess of the later Buddhists. To the west, beyond the bend of the *Naya Tál*, lies *Guronpur*, or the "Village of Teachers," which in its day was probably inhabited by Buddhist *Gurus*. The *Mrgadára*, or "Deer Park," is represented by a fine wood, which still covers an area of about half a mile, and extends from the great tower of *Dhamek* on the north to the *Chaukandi* mound on the south. To the south-west of the great tower the Jains have erected a modern temple of *Pársuanáth*. The temple is white-washed and surrounded by a wall enclosing an area 167 feet square. Since I first surveyed these ruins in 1835, a second or outer enclosure has been added on the east side, the walls of which run right up to the great tower and cause much inconvenience to visitors, by obstructing their free passage round the building.

The most remarkable of the Sárnáth Monuments is the great tower called *Dhamek*. Mr. Fergusson† has stated that "this building was opened by Major Cunningham, under Mr. Prinsep's auspices;" but this statement is incorrect, as the operations were begun by myself before any communication was made to James Prinsep, and were afterwards continued entirely under my own guidance. The cost of opening the tower was shared between James Prinsep, Captain Thoresby, Major Grant, and myself, but the work had been commenced "under my own auspices," and was not suggested to me by James Prinsep. The excavation was begun in December 1834, and closed in January 1836, at a cost of Rupees 517-3-10. But, before detailing these operations, I will describe the tower itself

The Buddhist *stupa* called *Dhamek* is a solid round tower, 93 feet in diameter at base and 110 feet in height above the surrounding runs, but 128 feet above the general level of the country. The foundation or basement, which is made of very large bricks, has a depth of 28 feet below the level of the runs, but is sunk only 10 feet below the surface of the

* See Plate XXXI

† Handbook of Architecture, I, p 15

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From the level of the base of the niches the eight projecting faces lessen in width to five feet at the top; but the diminution is not uniform, as it begins gradually at first, and increases as it approaches the top. The outline of the slope may have been possibly intended for a curve, but it looks much more like three sides of a large polygon. Around the niches seven of the faces are more or less richly decorated with a profusion of flowing foliage. The carving on some of the faces has been completed, but on others it is little more than half finished, while the south face is altogether plain. On the unfinished faces portions of the unexecuted ornamentation may be seen traced in outline by the chisel, which proves that in ancient times the Hindus followed the same practice as at present, of adding the carving after the wall was built.

On the western face the same ornamentation of flowing foliage is continued below the niche, and in the midst of it there is a small plain tablet, which can only have been intended for a very short inscription, such, perhaps, as the name of the building. A triple band of ornament, nearly 9 feet in depth below the niches, encircles all the rest of the building, both faces and recesses. The middle band, which is the broadest, is formed entirely of various geometrical figures, the main lines being deeply cut, and the intervening spaces being filled with various ornaments. On some of the faces where the spaces between the deeply cut lines of the ruling figures are left plain, I infer that the work is unfinished. The upper band of ornamentation, which is the narrowest, is generally a scroll of the lotus plant with leaves and buds only, while the lower band, which is also a lotus scroll, contains the full blown flowers as well as the buds. The lotus flower is represented full to the front on all the sides except the south south-west, where it is shown in a side view with the *Chakwa* or Brahmani Goose seated upon it. This, indeed, is the only side on which any animal representations are given, which is the more remarkable, as it is one of the recesses and not one of the projecting faces. In the middle of the ornament there is a human figure seated on a lotus flower and holding two branches of the lotus in his hands. On each side of him there are three lotus flowers, of which the four nearer ones support pairs of Brahmani Geese, while the two farther ones carry only single birds. Over the nearest

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published by Mr. Thomas in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal. This height was carefully measured by myself with an iron chain in January 1835, by means of the scaffolding which I had put up for the purpose of opening the tower. By a previous measurement with a theodolite I had found the height to be 109 feet 10 inches. The breadth of one projecting face and of one recess is 36 feet 6 inches, which multiplied by 8 gives 292 feet as the circumference, and a trifle less than 93 feet as the diameter, or nearly double the thickness stated by any one of the authorities just quoted.

On the 18th January 1835 my scaffolding was completed, and I stood on the top of the great tower. On cutting the long grass I found two iron spikes, each 8 inches long, and shaped like the head of a lance. On the following day I removed the ruined brick pinnacle and began sinking a shaft or well, about 5 feet in diameter. At 3 feet from the top I found a rough stone, 24 inches \times 15 inches \times 7 inches, and on the 25th January, at a depth of $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet, I found an inscribed slab $28\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, 13 inches broad, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick, which is now in the Museum of the Bengal Asiatic Society. The inscription consists of the usual Buddhist formula or profession of faith beginning with the words "*Ye Dharmma hetu prabhavá, &c.*," of which translations have been given by Mill, Hodgson, Wilson, and Burnouf. The following is Hodgson's translation, which has received the approval of Burnouf. "Of all things proceeding from cause, their causes hath the *Tathágata* (Buddha) explained. The Great Sramana (Buddha) hath likewise explained the causes of the cessation of existence." The letters of this inscription, which are all beautifully cut, appear to me to be of somewhat earlier date than the Tibetan alphabet, which is known to have been obtained from India in the middle of the 7th century. I would, therefore, assign the inscription, and consequently the completion of the monument, to the 6th century.*

On the 22nd January I began to excavate a horizontal gallery on the level of the top of the stone-work, and on the 14th of February, at a distance of 44 feet, the gallery joined the shaft, which had been sunk from above. As I now found that the upper course of stone was only a facing, I sank the

* See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1835, p. 133, for different translations, and Plate IX. for a copy of the inscription. The original stone is now in the Museum of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.

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plain tablet, which, as I have said before, could only have been intended for some very short inscription, such as the name either of the tower itself, or of the event which it was intended to commemorate. But, whatever it may have been intended for, its position was no doubt significant, and, as at Buddha Gaya, where Sâkya had been seated facing the east, his statue was placed in the same position, so at Banâras, where, when he began to preach he had been seated facing the west, his statue must have been placed in the same direction. I conclude that the western face of the monument erected to commemorate that event would have been the principal side, and that any inscription would certainly have been placed on that side.

It now only remains to notice the name by which this great tower is known amongst the people of the neighbouring villages. This name is *Dhamek*, of which no one knows the meaning. It is evidently some compound of *Dharmma*, and, bearing in mind that on this spot Buddha first began to "turn the wheel of the law," I would suggest that *Dhamek* is only an abbreviation of the Sanskrit *Dharmnopadesaka* or "Preacher of *Dharmma*," which is, indeed, the common term now in use to designate any religious teacher. The term is also used in the simpler form of *Dharmma desaka*, which, in familiar conversation, would naturally be shortened to *Dhamadek* and *Dhamek*. The special fitness of this name for the great tower in the Deer Park at Banâras is so obvious and striking, that I think it needless to offer any further remarks on the subject.

At a distance of 520 feet to the westward of *Dhamek*, there is a large circular hole, upwards of 50 feet in diameter, surrounded by a very thick brick wall. This is the ruin of the large brick *stupa* which was excavated by Bâbû Jagat Singh, the Dewân of Râja Chait Singh, of Banâras, for the purpose of obtaining bricks for the erection of Jagatganj. In January 1794 his workmen found, at a depth of 27 feet, two vessels of stone and marble, one inside the other. The inner vessel, according to Jonathan Duncan's account,* contained a few human bones, some decayed pearls, gold leaves, and other jewels of no value. In the "same place" underground, and on the "same occasion," with the discovery of the urns, there was found a statue of Buddha, bearing an

* Asiatic Researches, V, p 131

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was a boy, he had been employed in the excavations made by Jagat Singh, and that he knew all about the discovery of the jewels, &c. According to his account the discovery consisted of two boxes, the outer one being a large round box of common stone, and the inner one a cylindrical box of green marble about 15 inches in height and 5 or 6 inches in diameter. The contents of the inner box were 40 to 46 pearls, 14 rubies, 8 silver and 9 gold earrings (*karn phul*), and three pieces of human arm bone. The marble box was taken to the Barâ Sâhib (Jonathun Duncan), but the stone box was left undisturbed in its original position. As the last statement evidently afforded a ready means of testing the man's veracity, I enquired if he could point out the spot where the box was left. To this question he replied without any hesitation in the affirmative, and I at once engaged him to dig up the box. We proceeded together to the site of the present circular hole, which was then a low uneven mound in the centre of a hollow, and, after marking out a small space about 4 feet in diameter, he began to work. Before sunset he had reached the stone box at a depth of 12 feet, and at less than 2 feet from the middle of the well which he had sunk. The box was a large circular block of common Chunar sand-stone, pierced with a rough cylindrical chamber in the centre, and covered with a flat slab as a lid. I presented this box, along with about 60 statues, to the Bengal Asiatic Society, and it is now in their Museum, where I lately recognized it. In their catalogue, however, it is described as "942B, a Sarcophagus found in the tope of *Manikyala* (!); Donor, Lieutenant A. Cunningham."

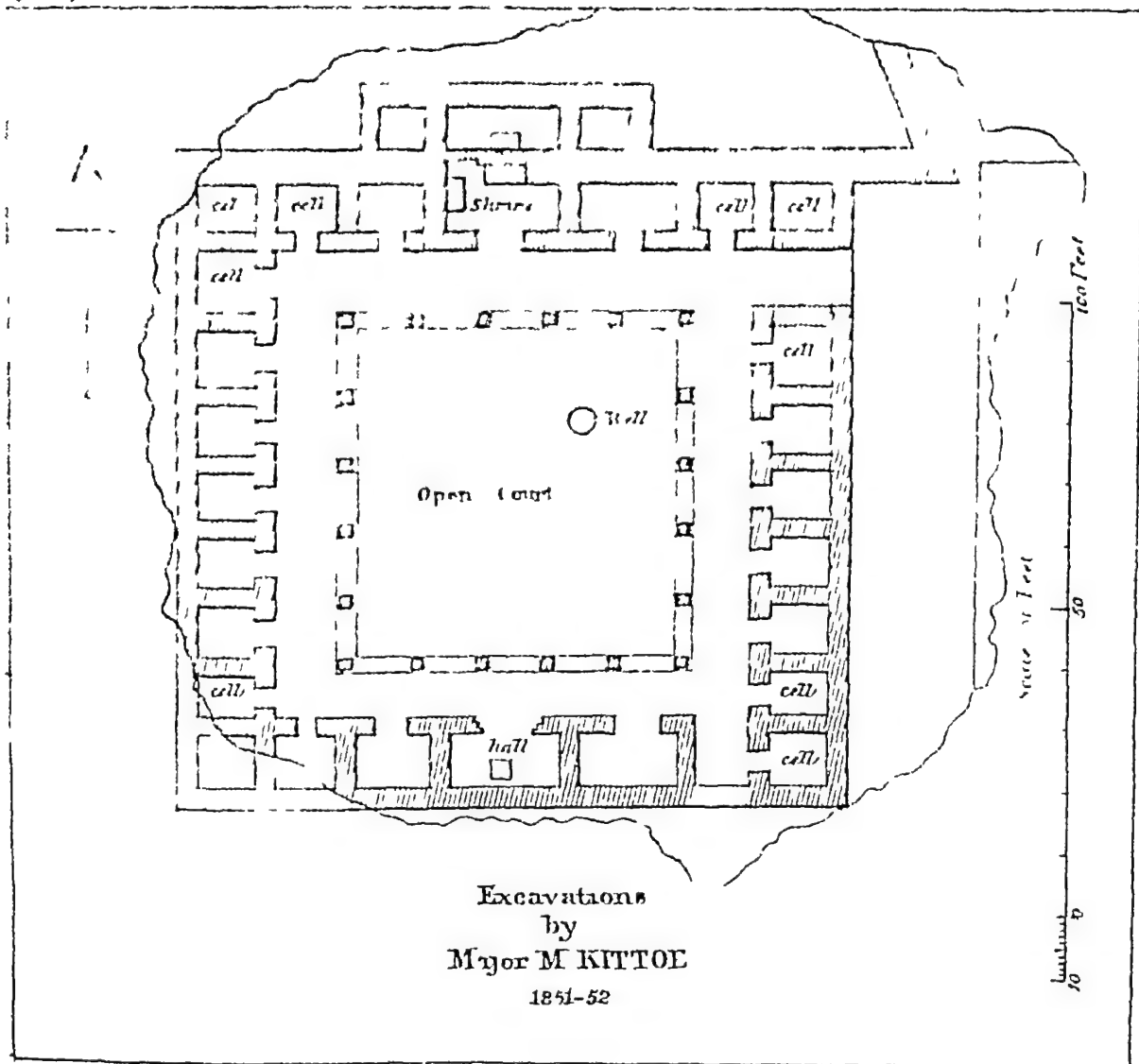
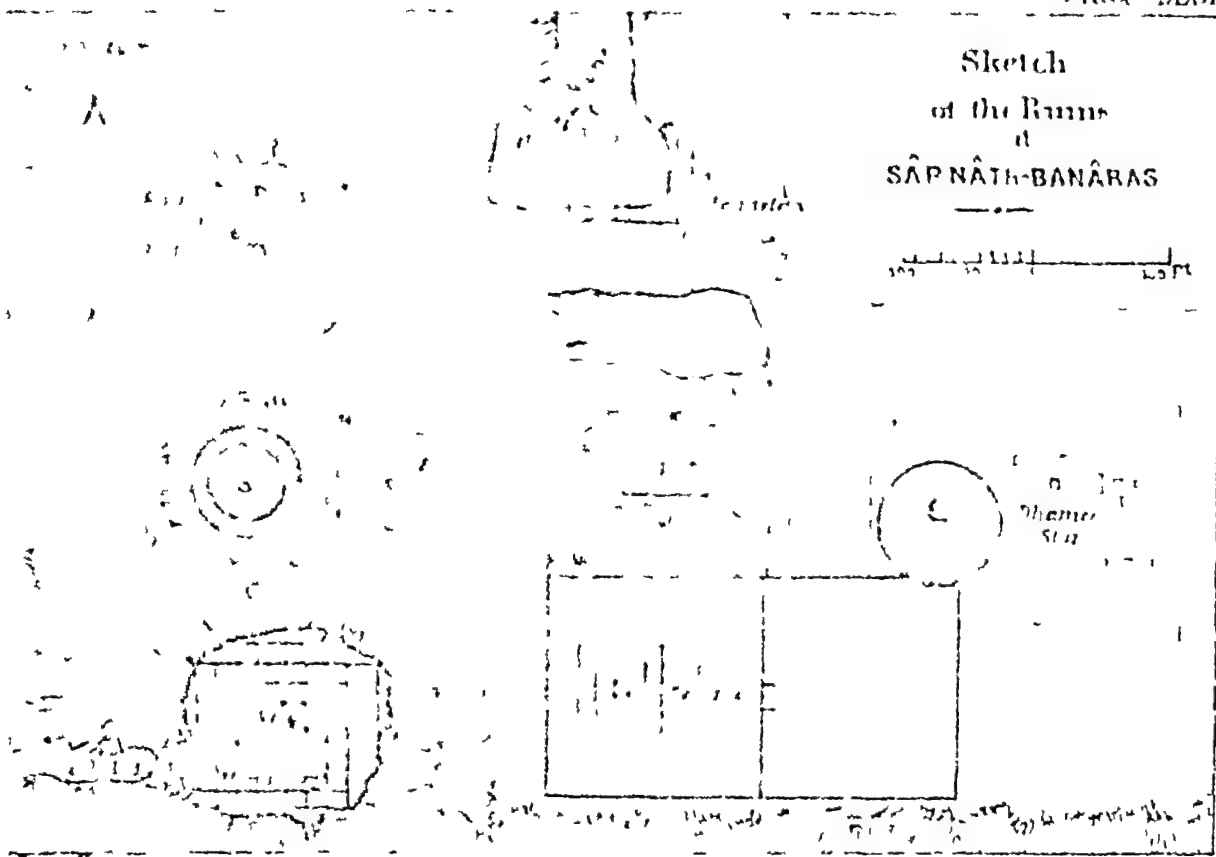
The discovery of the stone box was the most complete and convincing proof that I could wish for of the man's veracity, and I at once felt satisfied that the relics and the inscribed figure of Buddha found by Jagat Singh's workmen had been discovered on this spot, and consequently that they could not possibly have any connexion with the great tower of *Dhamek*. My next object was to ascertain the nature of the building in which the box was deposited. As I had found the box standing on solid brick-work, I began to clear away the rubbish, expecting to find a square chamber similar to those which had been discovered in the topes of Afghanistan. My excavations, however, very soon showed that, if any chamber had once existed, it must have been demolished by

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Sketch
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brickwork, surmounted by an octagonal building. When I first lived at Banâras, this mound was always known by the name of *Chaukandi*, of which no one knew the meaning. But during my late visit I found that the old name was nearly forgotten, having been superseded by *Luri-ka-kodan* or "Luri's leap." *Luri* was an *Ahur*, who jumped from the top of the octagonal building some years ago, and was killed. The mound itself is 74 feet in height to the floor of the octagonal building which rises 23 feet 8 inches higher, making a total height of 97 feet and 8 inches. An inscription over one of the door-ways of the building records that it was built in the reign of *Humâyun*, as a memorial of the emperor's ascent of the mound.

In 1835 I opened this mound by sinking a well from the floor of the building right down to the plain earth beneath the foundation. I also drove a horizontal gallery to meet the well about half way up the ascent. But as neither of these excavations resulted in any discovery, I then thought it possible that my well might not have been sunk in the axis of the building. I therefore began to widen the well from the point of junction of the gallery until it was nearly 20 feet in diameter. This work was stopped at a depth of 27 feet by my departure from Banâras. I have again examined this ruin, and I am now quite satisfied that my first well was sunk in the very centre of the mound. The absence of any relic chamber shows that this was not a relic tower, a conclusion which is fully borne out by Hwen Thsang's description of one of the most remarkable of the sacred edifices near the Deer Park at Banâras, which, I believe, may be identified with the *Chaukandi* mound.

At 2 or 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ (or rather less than half a mile) to the south-west of the Deer Park Monastery, Hwen Thsang places a *stupa* which was no less than 300 feet in height.* This lofty monument sparkled with the rarest and most precious materials. It was not ornamented with rows of niches, neither had it the usual bell-shaped cupola, but its summit was crowned with a sort of religious vase, turned upside down, on the top of which was an arrow. This is the whole of Hwen Thsang's account of this remarkable building, which, although too meagre to gratify curiosity, is still sufficient for

* Juhen's Hwen Thsang, II, p 363

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Duncan,^{*} and a more detailed notice by Wilford in a later volume of the same work. I can add little to their accounts, except that the original green stone vase, which Jonathan Duncan presented to the Asiatic Society in 1794, had disappeared before 1834, when I wrote to James Prinsep about it. I may mention also, on the authority of the work-people, that the dilapidated state of the lower part of the Dhamek Tower is due entirely to the meanness of Jagat Singh, who, to save a few rupees in the purchase of new stones, deliberately destroyed the beautiful facing of this ancient tower. As each stone was slowly detached from the monument by cutting out all the iron cramps by which it was secured to its neighbours, the actual saving to the Bâbû could have been but little; but the defacement to the tower was very great, and, as the stones were removed at once, the damage done to the tower is quite irreparable.

Jagat Singh's discovery would appear to have stimulated the curiosity of the British officers, for Miss Emma Roberts, writing in 1834, relates that "some 40 or 50 years ago" (that is, about 1794) "the ruins near Sârnâth attracted the attention of several scientific gentlemen, and they commenced an active research by digging in many places around. Their labours were rewarded by the discovery of several excavations filled with an immense number of flat tiles, having representations of Buddha modelled upon them in wax. It is said that there were actually cart loads of these images found in the excavations before mentioned. Many were deposited in the Museums and collections of private individuals; but whether they were ever made, the subject of a descriptive account seems doubtful, there being at least no public document of the kind"[†] I can add nothing to Miss Roberts' account, as all my enquiries have failed to discover any of the wax seals of Buddha above mentioned. I may note, however, that in the temples of Ladâk I have seen small chambers quite full of similar little figures of deceased Lâmas. In Burmah also I have seen small figures of Buddha in burnt clay accumulated in heaps equal to cart loads, both in the caves and in the temples. The figured seals discovered near Sârnâth would appear to have been of a similar kind to those which I extracted from the ruined building close to

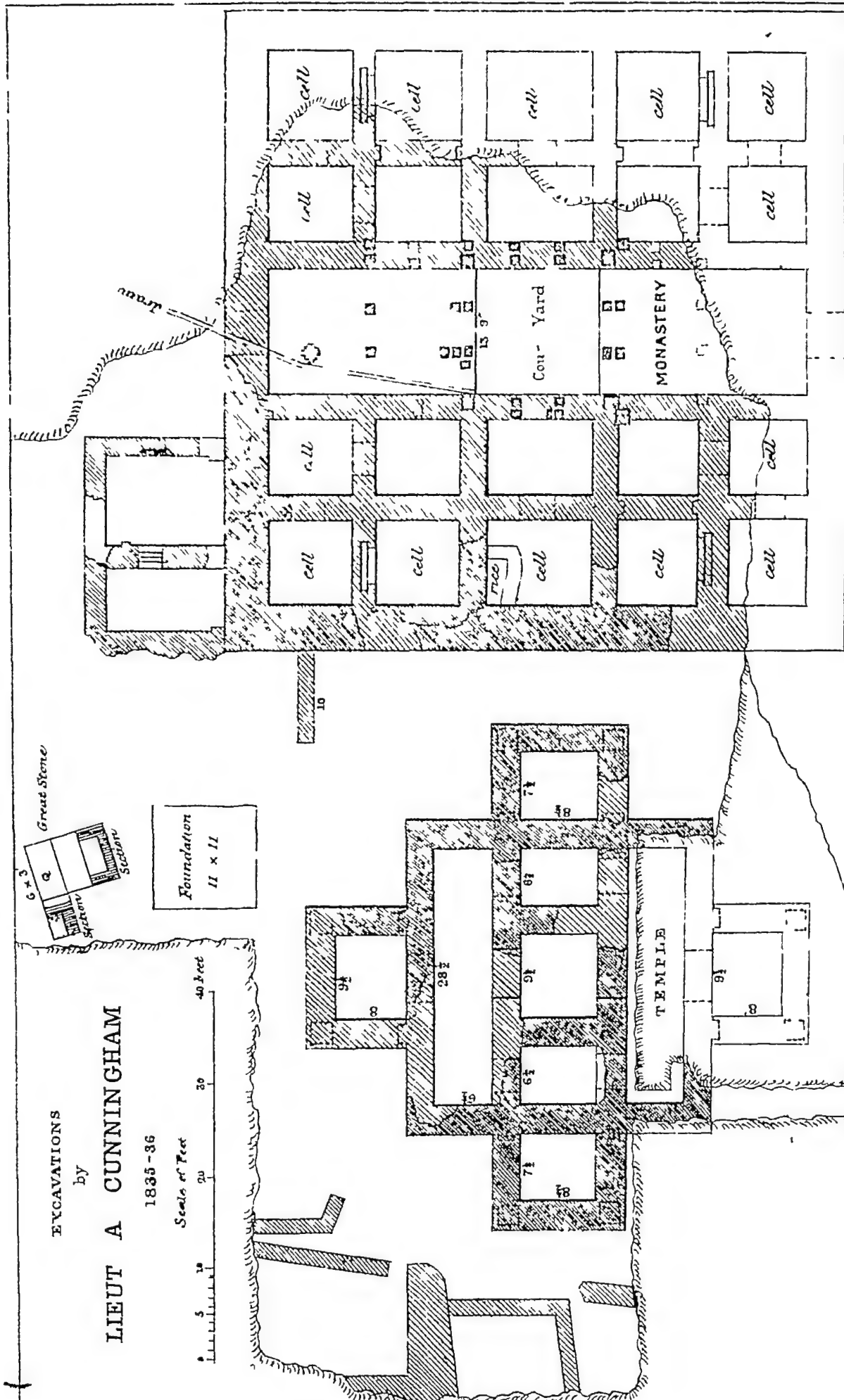
* Asiatic Researches, V, p 131

† Views in India, &c, II., p 8.

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each of the four sides of the building. In all the cells I found pieces of charred wood with nails still sticking in some of them, and in the middle cell on the western side I found a small store of unhusked rice only partially burnt. In a few places I found what appeared to be pieces of terraced roofing, and in one place a large heap of charcoal. On the south side the central room was lost by previous excavation but on the north side I found a room entirely open towards the verandah as if it was a hall, or place of general meeting for the resident monks. Inside this room there was the base or pedestal of what I believe to have been a small votive *stupa*, the top of which probably reached to the roof and took the place of a pillar. A small drain led underground from the north-west corner of the central square to the outside of the building on the north, for the purpose, as I conclude, of carrying off the rain-water.

The building which I have just described would appear to have been a *Vihāra*, of "Chapel Monastery," that is, a monastery with a chapel or temple forming an integral part of the building. From the thickness of the outer wall I infer that this edifice was not less than three or four stories in height, and that it may have accommodated about 50 monks. The entrance was probably on the south side, and I think that there must have been a statue of Buddha in the northern verandah. The bas-relief which I found in the central square almost certainly formed one of the middle architraves of the court.

Continuing my excavations in the high ground to the westward, I came upon the remains of a building of a totally different description. The walls of this edifice were 3 feet thick throughout, and I found the plaster still adhering to the inner walls of what I will call the verandahs, with borders of painted flowers, quite fresh and vivid. The mass of the building consisted of a square of 34 feet, with a small porch on each of the four side. The building was divided into three parts from west to east, and the central part was again sub-divided into three small rooms. I think it probable that these three rooms were the shrines of the Buddhist Triad *Dharmma*, *Buddha*, and *Sangha*, and that the walls of

* See Plate XXXIII for the plans of these buildings. The position is marked by the letter P in the sketch of the ruins in Plate XXXII.

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three stupas which I had myself opened, and which I have already described. In reply he wrote—"How do you make out *three* towers at Sarnath? I make out *four*, to say nothing of innumerable smaller affairs down to the size of a walnut, which I have laid bare." Attached to this he gave a rough sketch of the ground, showing the position of the fourth tower to be immediately to the north of Jagat Singh's stupa, where I have accordingly inserted it, on his authority, in my survey of the ruins. Further on he writes—"I have laid bare *chaityas* upon *chaityas*, four and five deep, built one over the other." In another place he describes the oblong courtyard which was excavated by himself at a distance of 125 feet to the westward of the great tower, as a "large quadrangle, or *hospital*, for I have found pestles and mortars (*sills* or flat stones for mashing), *loongas*, &c, &c." This is the quadrangle marked Z. in my plan of the ruins. It is 60 feet long from west to east, and 42 feet broad, and is surrounded by a low wall 3 feet thick and 1½ foot high above the level of the terraced floor, parts of which still remain. Fixed in this wall are the stumps of twelve stone pillars, which are split in all directions as if destroyed by fire. I agree with Major Kittoe in thinking that this quadrangle is probably the ruin of a hospital.

In reply to a question about stone umbrellas, Major Kittoe wrote to me as follows: "I have got hold of two, one in fragments (*burnt*), of say 6 feet diameter, mushroom-shaped, and another, *also burnt*, but not broken, elegantly carved in scroll on the inside, but nearly defaced by the action of saltpetre."

Of the great tower itself, Major Kittoe's opinion was, that "the arrangement was precisely the same as at Rangoon, rows and rows of small temples, umbrellas, pillars, &c, around the great tope. They all run north and south, and east and west, large and small" To this account he added a small rough sketch showing the arrangement of the smaller stupas about the great tower. This sketch I have inserted in my survey in dotted lines. Judging from the arrangement of the subsidiary buildings about the great stupas of Burmah and Ladâk, with which I am personally acquainted, I have every

† See sketch of the ruins in Plate XXXII

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contains no less than 28 separate apartments, and if one of these be set aside as a shrine for a statue of Buddha, and a second as a hall for teaching, there will remain 26 cells for the accommodation of monks. Again, judging from the thickness of the walls, I am of opinion that the building could not have been less than 3 or 4 storeys in height. Assuming the latter to have been the actual height, the building would have contained 104 cells, and, therefore, may possibly have been one of the 30 monasteries noted by Hwen T'sang.

The ground plan of the monastery shews a central court 50 feet square, surrounded by pillars which must have supported an open verandah or cloister in front of the four ranges of cells. In the north-east corner of the court-yard there is an old well, 4 feet 10 inches in diameter, and 37 feet deep. As this well is placed on one side, I infer that the middle of the court was occupied by a *stupa* or a statue, or more probably, perhaps, by a holy tree, as I could not find any traces of the foundation of a building. On the outside, the building is 107 feet square. In the centre room on the north side, which is 18 feet in length, there are two large stones placed against the walls as if intended for the reception of statues. This also was Mr Thomas' opinion. This room, I believe, to have been the shrine of the monastery. In the centre room on the south side there is a "square, elaborately corniced block," which Mr Thomas believed to have been the throne for a seated figure of Buddha. I incline, however, to the opinion that this was the seat of the teacher for the daily reading and expounding of the Buddhist Scriptures. The cells on each side of these two central rooms are somewhat larger than those on the eastern and western sides of the court, and were, therefore, probably assigned to the senior monks. The common cells are $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 8 feet, and each has a separate door.

The ground plan of this monastery is similar to that of the large caves at Bâgh and Ajanta, sketches of which have been given by Mr. Fergusson*. The plan is in fact almost identical with that of the Bâgh Cave, the only difference being the want of cells in the cave monastery on the side

* Handbook of Architecture, I, pp 33, 34.

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conclusions drawn by previous explorers, that the monastery had been destroyed by fire.”*

During my stay at Banâras, I examined the collection of articles found by Professor Hall in the various excavations which he conducted at Sârnâth, and which are now deposited in the Museum of the College. The only article requiring special notice is No. 18, an impression in burnt clay, of a seal $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter with two lines of Sanskrit, surmounted by a lozenge-shaped device, with two recumbent deer as supporters. The device of the two deer is significant, as it no doubt shows that the seal must have belonged to some person or establishment attached to the monastery of the Deer Park. The end of the upper line and the whole of the lower line of the inscription are too much injured to be made out satisfactorily. The inscription begins with the word *Sri Saddharmma*, “the auspicious true *Dharmma*,” and the letters at the end of the first line look very like *Rakshita* the “Preserver.” This would be a man’s name *Sri Saddharmma Rakshita*, “the Cherisher of the true *Dharmma*,” a title not uncommon amongst the Buddhists. Of the lower line I am unable to suggest any probable rendering.

In the absence of any general plan of the ruins, showing the extent of the explorations carried on by Major Kittoe and his successors, I do not think it would be advisable to undertake any further excavations at Sârnâth, Banâras; I have already suggested that the ground immediately around the great tower should be levelled for the purpose of affording easy access to visitors.† In carrying out this operation, every fragment of sculpture should be carefully preserved, as I think it very probable that some portions of the statues, which once adorned the eight niches of the great tower, may be discovered in the masses of rubbish now lying in heaps at its foot. It might, perhaps, be worth while to make a few tentative excavations in the mass of ruins to the north and north-west of the great tower, by digging long narrow trenches from west to east, and from north to south. Should these trenches uncover the remains of any large buildings,

* Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, 1856, p. 396

† This clearance of the ruins around the great stupa has since been made by Mr. Horne, to a breadth of 25 feet

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Report of Operations of the Archeological Surveyor to the Government of
India during season 1862-63

NOTE.

IN A. D. 631, when the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang crossed the Satlaj from the westward, the first place that he visited was Po-li-ye-to-lo, or *Paryatra*, which has been identified by M. St. Martin with *Taurál*, to the northward of Jaypur. This place I have not yet visited, as my explorations during the cold season of 1862-63 were confined to Delhi, Mathura, and Khâlsi, on the line of the Jumna and to the ancient cities lying north of that river in the Gangetic Doab, Oudh, and Rohilkhand. In these provinces, I have followed Hwen Thsang's route from *Mathura* to *Srāvastī*; and, with his aid, I have been successful in discovering the once famous cities of *Ahi-chhatra*, *Kosámbi*, *Sháchi*, and *Srāvastī*. The sites of other celebrated places have likewise been determined with almost equal certainty, as *Srughna*, *Madipur*, *Govisana*, *Pilosana*, *Kusapura*, and *Dhopâpapura*. I begin the account of my explorations at Delhi, which is the only place of note not visited by the Chinese pilgrim, whose route I take up at Mathura, and follow throughout Rohilkhand, the Doab, and Oudh. The places visited during this tour are accordingly described in the following order.

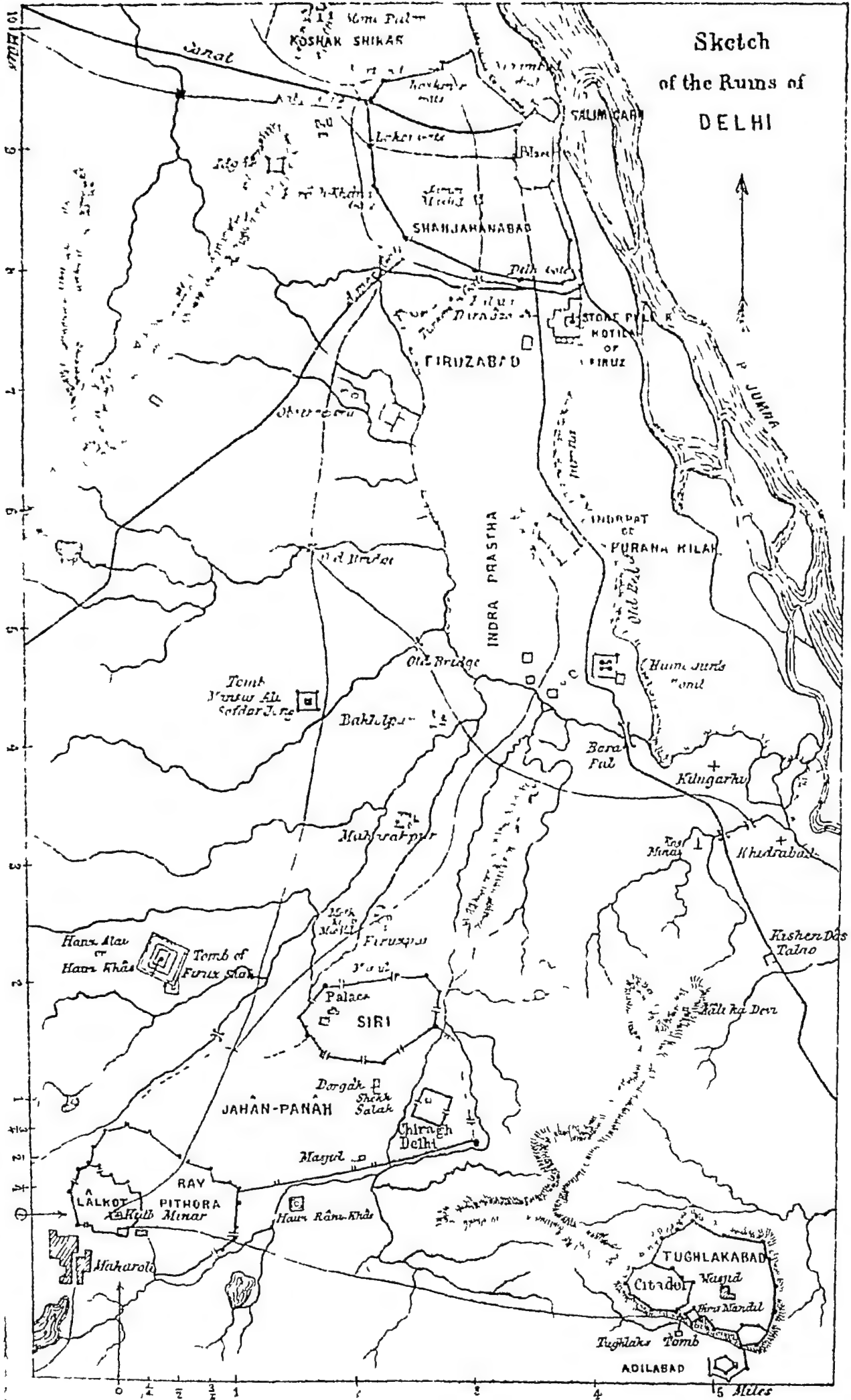
- I. Delhi.
- II. Mathura.
- III. Khâlsi
- IV. Madâwar, or *Madipur*.
- V. Kâshipur, or *Govisana*.
- VI. Râmnagar, or *Ahi-chhatra*.
- VII. Soron, or *Sukrakshetra*.
- VIII. Atranjikhara, or *Pilosana*.
- IX. Sankisa, or *Sangkasya*.
- X. Kanoj, or *Kanyakubja*.
- XI. Kâkpur, or *Ayuto*.
- XII. Daundiakhara, or *Hayamukha*.
- XIII. Allahabad, or *Prayâga*.

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Capital from the south, for he states that on his *left* hand he saw the ruins of "*old Delhi, called the 7 castles and 52 gates,*" a name by which these ruins are still known in the present day. With regard to the work of the Emperor *Ghais-ud-din-Balban*, who reigned from A. D. 1266 to 1288, I think that too great importance has been attached to its name of *Kila* or fort. The *Kila Marzghan*, which Syad Ahmed places at *Ghaispur*, near the tomb of *Nizām-uddīn Iulā*, was built as an asylum, *marja*, or place of refuge for debtors. Now, this asylum for debtors was still existing in A. D. 1335 to 1340, when Ibn Batuta was one of the Magistrates of Delhi. He describes it as the *Dār-ul-aman*, or "House of Safety," and states that he visited the tomb of Balban, which was inside this *house*. From this, as well as from its name of *Dār-ul-aman*, I infer that the building was a walled enclosure of moderate size, perhaps not much larger than that which now surrounds the tomb of Tughlak Shah. This inference is rendered almost certain by Ibn Batuta's description of Delhi,* which, he says, "now consists of *four* cities, which becoming contiguous, have formed *one*." Now three of the four cities here alluded to are certainly those of *Rai Pithora*, *Jahān-panāh*, and *Siri* (of which the continuous walls can be easily traced even at the present day), and the fourth city must have been Tughlakabad. No particular date can be assigned to *Jahān-panāh* which was an open suburb until the time of Muhammad Tughlak, who first enclosed it with walls; but as Ibn Batuta was one of the Magistrates of Delhi under this Emperor, it is certain that *Jahān-panāh* must have been one of the four cities described by him. I feel quite satisfied, therefore, that the *Kila-Marzghan*, called also *Dār-ul-aman*, or "House of Refuge," was not a fortress, or large fortified city, but only a small walled enclosure surrounding his own tomb, and forming, at the same time, a place sufficiently large as an asylum for debtors and criminals.

The city of Kai-Kubād, called *Kilu-ghari*, was certainly situated on the bank of the Jumna,† where the name is still

* Travels, translated by Dr Lee, p. 111

† Gladwin's *Am Akbari*, II, p. 86, and Briggs's *Ferishta*, I, p. 271

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under the name of *Din-panáh*, and after Shir Shah had founded his fort of *Adil-Shir-Shah* on the site of Firuzabad and Indraprastha, the common people began to use the names of old Delhi and new Delhi—the former being confined to the cluster of cities about the Hindu *Dilli*, while the latter was applied to those situated on the Jumna, on the site of the ancient Indraprastha.

Indraprastha or *Indrapat*.—At the time of the *Mahábhárata*, or “Great War” between the Pándus and Kurus, this was one of the well known five *pats* or *prasthas* which were demanded from Duryodhan by Yudhisthira as the price of peace. These five *pats* which still exist, were *Páñpat*, *Sonpat*, *Indrapat*, *Tilpat*, and *Baghpat*, of which all but the last were situated on the right or western bank of the Jumna. The term *prastha*, according to H. H. Wilson, means anything “spread out or extended,” and is commonly applied to any level piece of ground, including also table-land on the top of a hill. But its more literal and restricted meaning would appear to be that particular extent of land which would require a *prastha* of seed, that is, 48 double handfulls, or about 48 imperial pints, or two-thirds of a bushel. This was, no doubt, its original meaning, but in the lapse of time it must gradually have acquired the meaning, which it still has, of any good sized piece of open plain. *Indraprastha* would, therefore, mean the plain of Indra, which was, I presume, the name of the person who first settled there. Popular tradition assigns the five *pats* to the five Pándu brothers

The date of the occupation of Indraprastha as a capital by Yudhisthira, may, as I believe, be attributed, with some confidence, to the latter half of the 15th century before Christ. The grounds on which I base this belief are as follows: 1st, that certain positions of the planets, as recorded in the *Mahábhárata*, are shown by Bentley to have taken place in 1824-25 B C, who adds that “there is no other year, either before that period or since, in which they were so situated,” 2nd, in the Vishnu Purâna it is stated that at the birth of *Párikshita*, the son of *Arjuna Pándava*, the seven Rishis were in *Maghá*, and that when they are in *Purva Ashârha* Nanda will begin to reign. Now, as the seven Rishis, or stars of the Great Bear, are supposed to pass from one lunar asterism to another in 100 years, the

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to all the copies of the *Rajâvali*, by his Minister Visarwa, of whose family 14 persons are said to have held the throne for 500 years. They were succeeded by a dynasty of 15 *Gautamas*, or *Gotama-vansas*, who were followed by a family of nine *Mayuras*. *Raja-pâla*, the last of the *Mayuras*, is stated to have been attacked and killed by the Raja of Kumaon, named *Sakâditya*, or "Lord of the Sakas." But this was only the title, and not the name, of the conqueror; for *Vikramâditya* is said to have obtained his title of *Sakâr* by defeating him.

At this point of the traditional histories, the name of *Dilli* makes its first appearance,* but nothing is recorded regarding the change of name, and we are left to conjecture whether the city of *Dilli* had already been founded, or whether this name has been used instead of that of *Indraprastha* through simple inadvertence. According to one tradition, which is but little known, the city of *Dilli* was founded by Raja *Dilîpa*, who was the ancestor in the fifth generation of the five *Pându* brothers. But this story may be dismissed at once as an ignorant invention, as *Dilli* is universally acknowledged to be of much later date than *Indraprastha*, the city of *Yudhisthira* himself.

According to a popular and well known tradition, *Dilli* or *Dhili*, was built by Raja *Dilu*, or *Dhîlu*, whose date is quite uncertain. This tradition was adopted by *Ferishta*, who adds that Raja *Dilu*, after a reign of either 4 or 40 years, was attacked and killed by Raja *Phur*, or *Porus*, of Kumaon, who was the antagonist of Alexander the Great. If this statement could be depended upon, it might perhaps be entitled to some consideration, as giving the probable period of the foundation of *Dilli*. But unfortunately *Ferishta's* ancient chronology is a mere jumble of errors; thus, for instance, *Phur's* nephew, *Juna*, who should have been a contemporary of *Seleukos Nikator*, is said to be a contemporary of *Ardashir Babekan*, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty in A. D. 226. But *Ardashir* himself is afterwards made a contemporary of *Vikramâditya* of *Ujain* in 57 B. C. The most probable explanation of these different dates would seem

* In *Chand's Prithi-Râj-Raisa*, the name is invariably written *Dilli*, with the first vowel short, and the other long. In one place I have found the city called *Dillîpur*, which might as probably be derived from *Dilîp* as from *Dilu*.

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In this account of Kharg Rai, I recognize another version of the former story of the Raja of Dillī being overcome by the King of the Sakas, who was himself afterwards defeated by Vikramāditya. The name of *Sanhhdhwaḡ* would appear to be only a misreading either of *Sakwant*, or of *Sakdat* or *Sakāditya*; but *Nīlāgh-patī* is quite unlike Raja Pāl, although it might be a mistake for *Tīlak patī*, and would thus, perhaps, have some connection with the name of Raja Dīlu.

I think also that I can recognize another version of the same legend in the story of *Rāsal*, King of Hind, and his sons *Rawāl* and *Barkamārys*, as preserved in the *Mojmal-ut-tawārikh* of *Rashīduddīn*. In this version King *Rāsal*, whom I would conjecturally identify with Raja Pāl of the *Rajāvali*, is driven from his throne by a rebel, who is afterwards conquered by *Barkamārys*, a name in which, though slightly altered, I still recognize the famous *Bikramādīt* or *Vikramāditya*.

The overthrow of the Sakas is universally attributed to the *Vikramāditya* who assumed the title of *Sakārī*, and established the era which still bears his name, beginning in 57 B. C. But if the prince who founded this era was a contemporary of *Pravarasena*, Raja of Kashmir, and of the poet *Kālidāsa*, as well as of the Astronomer *Varāha Mihira*, as there seems good reason to believe, it is quite certain that he cannot be dated earlier than the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era. This conclusion is supported by the strong testimony of *Abu Rihān*, who states that the great victory over the Sakas was gained at a place called *Koror*, between Multan and Lonī, by a prince named *Vikramāditya*, just 135 years after the prince of the same name who founded the *Vikrama Samvat*. As the date of this event corresponds exactly with the initial point of the *Sake*-era which was established by *Sālvāhāna*, it results that the *Vikramāditya* of *Abu Rihān* is identical with the *Sālvāhāna* of the popular Indian traditions. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that in Colonel James Abbott's list of the Rajas of *Syālkot*, a reign of 90 years is assigned to *Sālivāhāna*, which is exactly the same as is

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Zulindrine or the *Jālandhar* Doab renders it almost certain that it must be *Sthâneswara* or *Thânesar*. The close proximity of *Daidala* to *Indabara*, joined to the curious resemblance of their names to *Dilli* and *Indrpat*, seems to me to offer very fair grounds for assuming their probable identity with these two famous Indian cities.

The ancient city of *Dilli* may, with tolerable certainty, be considered to have occupied almost the same site as the fort of *Rai Pithora*, as it is to be presumed that the Iron Pillar must have been erected in some conspicuous position, either within the old city, or close to it. With the solitary exception of the Iron Pillar, I am not aware that there are any existing remains that can be assigned with certainty to the old Hindu city of *Dilli*. A single pillar, amongst the many hundreds that now form the colonnades of the *Kutb Minar*, may perhaps belong to the old city, as it bears a figure either of *Buddha the Ascetic* seated in contemplation, or of one of the *Jain hierarchs*. No doubt some, and perhaps even many, of the pillars of these colonnades may have belonged to temples of the old Hindu city, but after a minute examination on three successive days, of the sculptures on the pillars, and of all the letters and mason's marks on the pillars and walls, I came to the unwilling conclusion that (with the two exceptions just noted) there is nothing now existing that is older than the tenth or eleventh century.

According to the tradition which is universally accepted by all Hindus, the city of *Dilli* was re-built by *Anang Pâl*, the first King of the *Tomar* dynasty. The manuscript of *Kharg Rai*, which I obtained at *Gwalior*, names him *Bilan De*, and a second manuscript, received from *Bikaner*, calls him *Bilan Deo* or *Anang Pâl*; but *Abul Fazl*, *Colonel Tod*, and *Syad Ahmad* call him simply *Anang Pâl*; and he is so named in two inscriptions which are found on the Iron Pillar. The date of *Anang Pâl*, the founder of the *Tomar* dynasty, is variously given by the different authorities, but even the most discrepant of these dates, when carefully examined, will be found to agree within a few years of the others. The different dates given are as follows :

1st.—*The Gwalior manuscript of Kharg Rai*—This date has already been referred to. *Kharg Rai* states that *Dilli* was deserted for 792 years after

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which is most probably an error of the engraver for S. 816. The difference between these dates is 427 years.

3rd.—In two manuscripts from Kumaon and Garhwâl, the date of the first Tomara Raja is given as 13th Bhâdon S. 816, which is equivalent to A. D. 789.* But as both of these manuscripts omit the first three names, which are found in all the other manuscripts, I conclude that the date therein given is that of the fourth prince of the other lists. Deducting, therefore, from the above date the sum of the three omitted reigns, which amount to 58 years, we obtain A. D. 731 as another period for the re-building of Dilli by Anang Pâl.

It will be observed that the three manuscripts from Gwalior, Kumaon, and Garhwâl, place the date of the re-founding of Dilli in the eighth century A. D., whereas Abul Fazl and the inscription on the Iron Pillar refer this event to the fourth century A. D., and so also does the author of the *Araash-i-Mahsil*, who gives S. 440. Now, although Abul Fazl specially notes that his date of 429 is of the era of Vikramâditya, yet he is most undoubtedly wrong, as I will now show from other statements of his own. According to this account, the Tomar dynasty, which lasted 419 years, was succeeded by the Chohan dynasty, which ruled for 83 years, and was then overcome by Sultan *Muaz-uddin Samê*. The period of this event is stated to be A. H. 588, or A. D. 1192. Now, deducting $419 + 83$, or 502 years, from A. D. 1192, we obtain A. D. 690 as the true date of Anang Pâl according to Abul Fazl's own figures, instead of S. 429—57, or A. D. 372, as stated in his text. But as the rule of the Chohans is limited to $41\frac{1}{2}$ years in my two manuscripts from Kumaon and Garhwâl, and to 40 years in my Gwalior manuscript, I think that the authority of these three records may be taken as at least of equal weight with that of the *Ain Akbari*. The true periods of the two dynasties will, therefore, be $419 + 41 = 460$ years, which deducted from A. D. 1191, the corrected date of Muaz-uddin's conquest, will

* A third MS. from Kedârnâth agrees generally with the two previously obtained from Bhuntal and Srinagar.

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Accepting this date of A. D. 736, we have to account for the period of 792 years during which Dilli is said to have lain waste, when it is almost certain that the city must have been occupied at the time when Raja *Dhāva* erected the Iron Pillar. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that which I have already given, *viz.*, that during this period Dilli was not the metropolis of the Kings of Upper India. The silence of the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang regarding Dilli may, perhaps, be considered as a strong proof of the smallness of the city from A. D. 100 to 640. Fa Hian, however, does not mention any place between Taxila and Mathura, and Hwen Thsang could only have passed through Dilli once, *viz.* when he returned from Mathura to Thanesar. It is even possible that he may have travelled by Mirat, which then possessed one of Asoka's Pillars, for, if Dilli was not a famous place amongst the Buddhists, as I believe it was not, it is improbable that he would have visited it.

Dilli must, however, have been the Capital of Anang Pal, and most probably also of several of his successors; but I have a strong suspicion that the later Rajas of the Tomar dynasty resided at Kanoj. M. Reinaud remarks that Otbi, the historian of Mahmud, makes no mention of the city of Dilli, and that only a single allusion to it is made by Abu Rihân in his *Kānun-al-masudî*. It is, indeed, a fact worthy of special notice that Dilli is not once mentioned in Abu Rihân's geographical chapter, which gives the routes between all the principal places in Northern India. He notices Thanesar, and Mathura, and Kanoj, but Dilli is never mentioned, an omission which could hardly have happened had Dilli been the capital of the famous Tomar Rajas at that time. I conclude, therefore, that Dilli was not their residence in the beginning of the eleventh century, and I think that I can show with much probability that Kanoj was the metropolis of the Tomar Rajas for several generations prior to the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni.

In A. H. 303, or A. D. 915, India was visited by the well known Geographer Masudî, who records that "the King of Kanoj, who is one of the Kings of es-Sind, is *Budah*; this is a title general to all Kings of el-Kanoj"* The name

* Sir H. M. Elliot—Historians of India, I, 57

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is *Jaypâl*, whose death, according to the lengths of reigns given in the *Ain Akbari*, occurred 287 years and 6 months after the re-building of Dilli by Anang Pâl. Adding this number to A. D. 736 $\frac{1}{2}$, we obtain the year 1023 $\frac{3}{4}$ as that of the death of Jaypâl. By comparing the lists of Abul Fazl and Syad Ahmad with those of my Gwalior, Kumaon, and Garhwâl manuscripts, and taking the lengths of reigns according to the majority of these five authorities, the period elapsed from the accession of Anang Pâl to the death of Jaypâl, amounts to 285 years and 6 months. Adding this number to A. D. 736 $\frac{1}{2}$, we get 1021 $\frac{3}{4}$ as the date of Jaypâl's death, which is, I believe, within a few months of the true date. According to Ferishta,* Mahmud first heard of the alliance of the Hindu princes against his tributary the King of Kanoj, some time in the Hijra year 412, which began on 17th April 1021. As several other events are previously recorded, and as Mahmud is said to have marched to his aid at once, I conclude that he may have left Ghazni about *October* 1021, and as Kanoj is three months' march distant from Ghazni,† he must have reached that city in January 1022. On his arrival, Mahmud found that the King of Kanoj had already been attacked and killed. The death of Jaypâl must, therefore, have occurred about December 1021, which agrees almost exactly with the date of his death, which I have already deduced from the genealogical lists. Precisely the same date also is obtained by working backwards by lengths of reigns from the date of Muazuddin's conquest of Dilli in A. D. 1191.

Since this account was written, the 2nd volume of Professor Dowson's edition of Sir H. M. Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians of India* has appeared, which contains‡ a translation of the *Mirât-i-Asrâr*, being a fabulous relation of the acts of Sâlâr Sâhu and his son Sâlâr Masâud. The latter is said to have captured Delhi, and to have killed the King named Mahipâl. But as Masâud was born in A. D. 1014, and was 18 years of age when he reached Oudh, after passing Delhi and Kanoj, the capture of Delhi cannot have taken place earlier than A. D. 1030, when he was 17 years of age

* Briggs, I—63

† Briggs's *Ferishta*, I—57

‡ Appendix, pp 515—549

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would appear to be the same as the Chohān Prithivi Raja, commonly called Rai Pithora. In proof of this, I may adduce the fact that the promised number of *nineteen Tomara* Rajas is complete without this name.

THE TOMARA, OR TOAR, DYNASTY OF DELHI

	Abul Fazl Syad Ahmad, Bilmer MS	Gwalior MSS	Kumaon, Garhwāl MSS	Reigns Y M D	Accession A D
1	Ananga Pāla	Bilān De	(caret)	18 0 0	736 3 0
2	Vasu Deva	(caret)	(caret)	19 1 18	754 3 0
3	Gangva	Ganggeva	(caret)	21 3 28	773 4 18
4	Prithivi Malla*	Prithama	Mahi P	19 6 19	794 8 16
5	Jaya Deva	Saba Deva	Jadu P	20 7 28	814 3 5
6	Nara, or Hira P	Indrajita	Nai P	11 4 9	834 11 3
7	Udiraj, or Adereh	Nari P	Jaya Deva P	26 7 11	849 3 12
8	Vijaya, or Vacha	Indrajita	Chamra P	21 2 13	875 10 23
9	Biksha, or Anek	Vacha Raja	Bibasa P	22 3 16	897 1 6
10	Riksha P	Vira P	Sukla P	21 6 5	919 4 22
11	Sukh, or Nck P	Gopala	Teja P	20 4 4	940 10 27
12	Gopala	Tillan De	Mahi P	18 3 15	961 3 1
13	Saliakshana P	Suvarā	Surcen	25 10 10	979 6 16
14	Jaya P	Osa P	Jail P	16 4 3	1005 4 26
15	Kunwar P	Kumara P	(caret)	29 9 18	1021 8 29
16	ANANGA, or Anek	ANANGA P	Anek P	29 6 18	1051 6 17
17	Vijaya Sab, or Pāl	Teja P	Teja P	24 1 6	1081 1 5
18	Mahatsal, Mahi P	Mahi P	Jyūn P	25 2 23	1105 2 11
19	Akr Pāl, Akhsal	Mukund P	Ane P	21 2 15	1130 5 4
				Capture of Delhi.	1151 7 19
20	Prithivi Rāja	Prithivi P	(caret)	22 2 16	1151 7 19

* Or Pāla

In the above list I have adopted as a starting point the exact amount of 792 years complete from the time of Vikramaditya; or $792 - 56\frac{3}{4} = 735\frac{1}{4}$ years complete, or April A. D. 736. But it is obvious that the period elapsed is more likely to have been 792 years and some months over than the exact number of 792 years. For instance, $792\frac{1}{4}$ years would place the death of Jaya Pāla in A. D. 1021-11-29, that is, on the 29th December A. D. 1021; but as the exact date of this event is not recorded by the Muhammadan Historians, I have

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that of his grandfather, Chandra Deva, the founder of the dynasty, in A. D. 1050. Now this is the very date, as we learn from other sources, at which Anang Pâl II, the successor of Kumâra Pâla, established himself at Dillî, and built the fort of *Lâlkot*. On the iron pillar there is a short inscription in three lines, which appears to be a contemporary record of Anang Pâl himself, as the characters are similar to those of the mason's marks on the pillars of the colonnade of the Great Mosque, but are quite different from those of the two modern Nâgarî inscriptions, which are close beside it. The following are the words of this short record: "*Samvat Dihali 1109 Ang Pâl bahi*," which may be translated thus—"In *Samvat* 1109, or A. D. 1052, *Ang* (or *Anang*) *Pâl* peopled *Dillî*." This statement is borne out by the testimony of the Kumaon and Gârhwâl manuscripts, in which, opposite the name of Anek Pâl, I find recorded that in *Samvat* 1117, or A. D. 1060, on the 10th of *Mârgasiras Sudi* "he built the Fort of Dillî and called it "*Lâlkot*" (*Dillî ka kot karâya, Lâlkot kahâya*"). This name was still in use during the reign of the first Musalmân King, Kutbuddin Aibeg, as I find in the manuscripts of *Mâk-jî*, the bard of the *Khichî* Chohans, that Kutbuddin, soon after his accession, issued seven orders to the Hindu Chiefs, of which the fifth is "*Lâlkot tar nagâro bājto a*," or "kettle-drums are not to be beaten in Lâlkot." This is a rule which is still observed, as none but the royal drums are beaten where the sovereign is present. Kutbuddin must, therefore, have taken up his residence in Lâlkot, or the fortified city of Anang Pâl.*

Now this date, recorded on the Iron Pillar, agrees so exactly with the period of the Rahtor conquest of Kanoj, that I think we may infer, with considerable probability, that the re-building of Dillî by Anang Pâl was owing to the loss of the territory of Kanoj along with its new Capital of Bâri in Oudh†. The accession of Anang Pâl II., according

* This is confirmed by the Muhammadan Historians, who state that the first two Kings, Kutb ud din Aibeg and Shamsuddin Altamsh resided in the Fort of Rai Pithora. See *Ain Akbari* by Gladwin, II, p. 86.

† The loss of power by the Tomar Princes of Delhi at this very time would seem to be confirmed by the asserted supremacy of Chandra Deva, the Râthor Raja of Kanoj, who is called the "protector of the sacred places at Kâsi, Kusika, Northern Kosala, and *Indras thâna*," of which the last is only another name for Indraprastha, or Delhi.—See Dr. Hall's translation of Madana Pâla's inscription in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1858, p. 224.

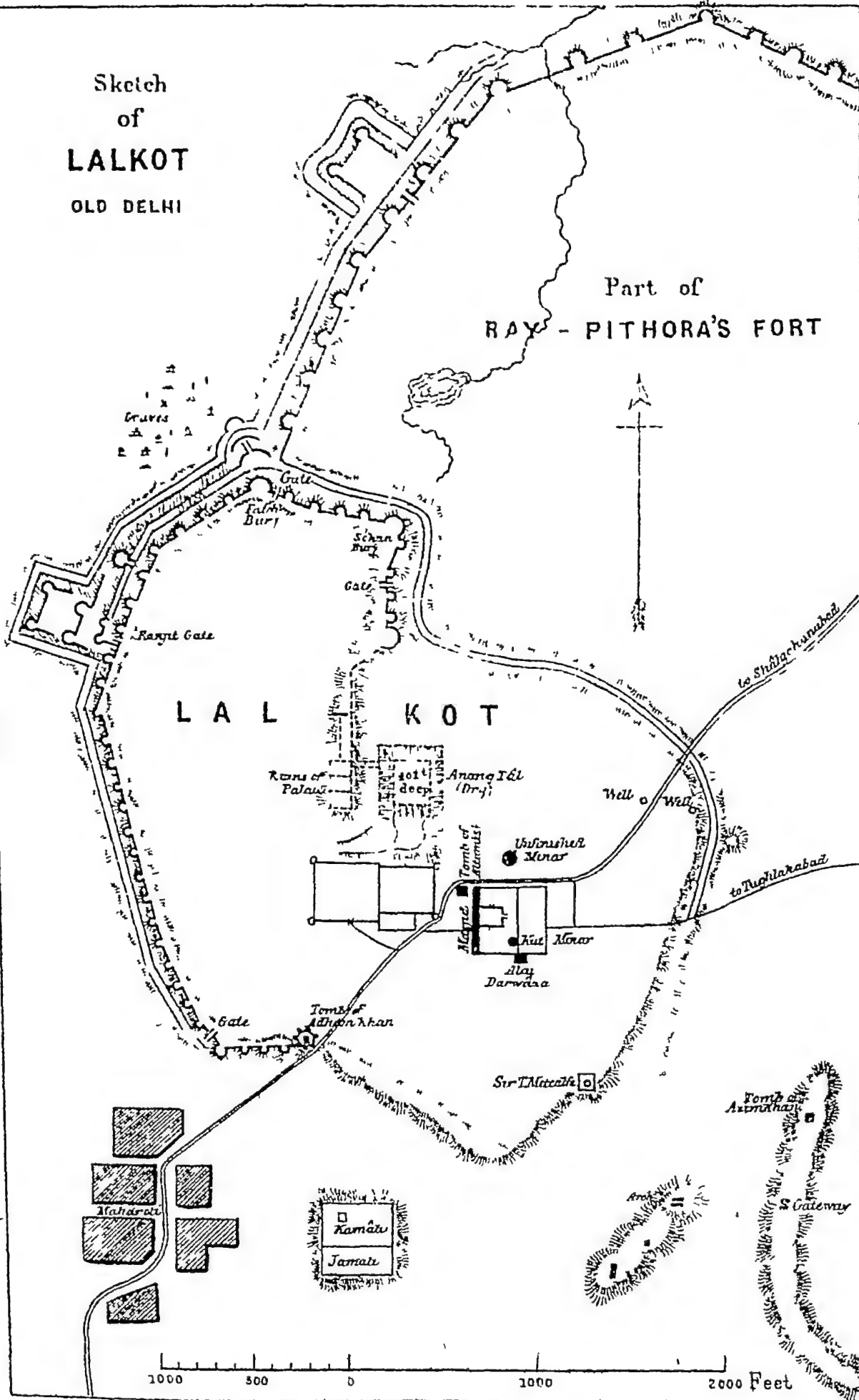
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Sketch
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LALKOT
OLD DELHI

Part of
RAY - PITHORA'S FORT



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corresponds most exactly with those which we have already obtained.

To Anang Pâl I attribute also the erection of at least one of the 27 temples which once stood around the Iron Pillar. Many of the pillars and beams of this temple have been made use of by the Musulmâns in the construction of the south-east corner of the colonnade of the Great Mosque. Most of them are inscribed with mason's marks, as will be noticed at length when I come to speak of the ruins in detail; and one of them bears the date of 1124, which, referred to the era of Vikramâditya, is equivalent to A. D. 1067, in the very middle of the reign of Anang Pâl II.

According to the traditions of the people, which I managed to pick up, the following were some of the numerous sons of Anang Pâl.

1st.—*Tej Pâl*, or *Tejran*, who founded *Tejôra*, between Gurgaon and Alwar. In the Bikaner MS this prince is called Vijaya Sâl, or Pâl.

2nd.—*Indra Raj*, who founded *Indragarh*.

3rd.—*Rang Raj*, who founded two places named *Târâgarh*, of which one is said to be near Ajmer.

4th.—*Achal Raj*, who founded *Acheva*, or *Achner*, between Bharatpur and Agra.

5th.—*Draupada*, who is said to have lived at Asi, or Hansi.

6th.—*Sîsu Pâl*, who founded *Sîrsa* and *Sîswal*, said to be same as *Sîrsî Patan*.

If these traditions are of any value, they will enable us to judge of the extent of Anang Pâl's dominions by the names of the places which were founded or held by his sons. According to this test his dominions extended from Hânsi on the north to Agra on the south, and on the western side they reached nearly as far as Alwar and Ajmer. To the eastward they were most probably bounded by the Ganges, beyond which the whole country was then held by the Katehria Rajputs. I see nothing improbable in these traditions of the *Tomar* possessions, and I am, therefore, willing to accept them as valuable additions to our present scanty knowledge of Hindu history.

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in the list, and reigned from A. D. 961 to 979.* The embankment was the work of Firuz Tughlak.† A second Mahi Pal reigned from A. D. 1105 to 1130.

If these traditions are true, the dominion of the Tomaras must at one time have extended to the westward as far as Sirsa and Nagor. To the south-west there is the district of *Tourrat*, or *Tomaravat*, between Alwar and Shekhâvati; and to the south-east there is the district of *Tourghâr*, or *Tomarghar*, between Dholpur and Gwalior, both of which still preserve the name of this once powerful clan. The Tomara dynasty of Gwalior, which held that strong fort for nearly a century and a half, traced its descent from Anang Pal of Dilli, and the present Chief of *Toarvat*, as well as the Tomar Zemindars of *Tourghâr*, still proudly lay claim to the same origin.

Anang Pâl II. was succeeded by three other Rajas of the Tomar family, of whom the last was a prince of the same name, Anang Pâl III. During the reign of this last King, Dilli was captured by the Chohâns under *Vîsala Deva*, but the date of this event has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained. According to Abul Fazl it occurred in S. 818, which, referred to the Balabhi era, gives A. D. 1166; but as the date of *Vîsala's* inscription on Firuz Shah's Pillar is S. 1220 of *Vikrama*, or A. D. 1163, it is certain that the capture of Dilli must have preceded the conqueror's advance to the foot of the hills near Khizrabad, where this pillar was then standing. This position at the foot of the Himâlaya Mountains is specially referred to in the record where *Vîsala* speaks of having made tributary all the regions between Himâvat and Vindhya.‡ *Mûk-jî*, the bard of the Khichi Chohâns, gives the date as S. 821, which, compared with Abul Fazl's date, is probably too early. The author of the *Araish-i-mahfil* says that it was rather more than 1200 *Samvat*, that is, somewhat later than A. D. 1143.

* The Hindu pillars of white marble and red sandstone which are found in the gateway and colonnade of Sultân Ghâri's tomb, were most probably the spoils of a temple to Siva, built by Mahi Pâl on the bank of the Mahupâlpur Lake, which is only half a mile distant from the tomb. I found a marble *argha*, or *yonî* receptacle of the *lingam* of Mahâdeva in the pavement of the colonnade of the tomb between two marble pillars.

† Journal of Archaeological Society of Delhi, September 1850, p. 32

‡ The actual "Capture of Delhi" by the Chohâns is mentioned in Tod's Bijoli inscription dated in S. 1226, or A. D. 1169,—*"Rajasthan,"* II., p. 743. It must, therefore, have occurred some time earlier.

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beginning of 1170. This will give a reign of 22 years to Prithvi Raja, which is the very term assigned to him in all the manuscripts at the end of the Tomar dynasty. It will also add about 18 years to the length of Anang Pal's reign, during which time I suppose him to have been tributary to Visala Deva.

The subject of the Chohan dynasty has been so much confused by the conflicting accounts given by Colonel Tod,* that I have found it impossible to make any satisfactory arrangement, either of the names of the Princes, or of the lengths of their reigns. So far as our information goes, the only Chohan Princes of Ajmer, who were at the same time actual Kings of Delhi, were Visala Deva and Prithvi Raja. During the latter half of Anang Pal's reign, I consider him to have been only the titular king of Delhi, and tributary to the paramount sovereign of Ajmer. On his death in A. D. 1170, the throne of Delhi would of course have fallen to Prithvi Raja by his adoption as the successor of the Tomar Prince. On Visala's death, which could not have occurred earlier than A. D. 1163, I infer that Someswara succeeded to the throne of Ajmer. When he was killed in battle seven years afterwards, or in A. D. 1170, the throne of Ajmer would have fallen to Prithvi Raja. But in the genealogical lists between Someswara and his son Prithvi Raja we find the names of *Châhara Deva* and *Nâga Deva* (or *Jaga Deva*), and I can only account for their insertion by supposing that they were the tributary Rajas of Delhi under Prithvi Raja as lord paramount. This seems highly probable if we may place any dependence on the latter part of Colonel Tod's genealogical list of the Chohans, in which *Châhara Deva* is made the younger brother of Prithvi Raja. That *Châhara*, or *Châhada Deva*, was a person of some consequence, we know from his coins, which are less uncommon than those of Prithvi Raja himself. Perhaps *Nâga Deva* may have been another brother or a near relative †

Colonel Tod gives the substance of an inscription discovered at Bijoli, which is dated in S. 1226, or A. D. 1169,

* Compare Tod's *Rajasthan*, II, 451, with II, 743, and Royal Asiatic Society's *Transactions*, I, p. 145.

† In a fine MS. of Chand's *Prithi Râj Rasi* in my possession I find Prithvi Raja recorded as the son of Someswara, and the grandson of Visala Deva, and the 7th in descent from Vira-Visala. This clears up most of our difficulties, as we now have a Visala Deva contemporary with the record of the Delhi Pillar, a name which is wanting in all the other lists.

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On comparing these lists, I think that *Bíl Deo* of Abul Fazl may be identified with *Vísala Deva* of the inscription on Firuz Shah's Pillar, and that *Sumer* or *Samas* are only corruptions of *Someswara*. The other names require no remarks.

The reign of Prithvi Raj has been rendered memorable by three events which form separate parts of the rather voluminous work of the bard *Chand*, named *Prithvi Ráj-Rása*. The work is divided into several *Khands*, or books, which are generally known by the names of the subjects of which they treat ; thus, the *Kanoj Khand* gives the story of the forcible abduction of the not unwilling daughter of Jaya Chandra, the Rahtor Raja of Kanoj ; while the *Mahoba Khand* relates the various fortunes of the successful war with *Parmálík* or *Paramárdi Deva*, the Chândel Raja of Mahoba, and the last books are devoted to the great struggle between the Hindus and Musulmâns, which ended in the final overthrow of Prithvi Ráj, and the establishment of Kutb-ud-din Aibeg on the throne of Dilli as a dependant of the paramount Sovereign Muaz-ud-din Ghorî.

The date of the abduction of the Kanoj Princess may be assigned with great probability to the year A. D. 1175, as we know from inscriptions that *Vijaya Chandra*, the father of *Jaya Chandra*, was still living in 1172, and that Jaya Chandra had succeeded to the throne *before* 1177. This event cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than 1175 ; and as Prince *Ramsi*, the issue of this union, was able to bear arms in the last fatal battle with the Musulmâns in 1193, in which he was killed, it is not possible to place the date of the abduction *later* than 1175.

The date of the great war with the Chândel Prince of Mahoba is given in the *Mahoba Khand* of Chand's poem as Samvat 1241, or A. D. 1184. My copy of this portion of the poem was obtained in Mahoba itself, and I have every reason to believe in the correctness of the year named, as it is borne out by two existing inscriptions of *Paramárdi Deva*, the Chândel Raja, which are dated, respectively, in Samvat 1224 or A. D. 1167, and S 1241 or A. D. 1184. The date of the final conquest of Dilli by the Musulmâns is variously given by the different authorities. Thus Ibn Batuta has A. H. 584, or A. D. 1188 ; Abul Fazl has A. H. 588,

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both printed and manuscript. The history of Muhammadan *Delhī*, or *Dellī*, according to our corrupt spelling, will be found in ample detail in Ferishta and other Moslem authors. I will now, therefore, confine my remarks to a description of the many noble remains of by-gone days, which, either by their grand size, their solid strength, or their majestic beauty, still proudly testify that this vast waste of ruins was once Imperial Delhi, the Capital of all India.

DELHI PILLARS

The most ancient monuments of Delhi are the two Stone Pillars bearing the edicts of Asoka, both of which were brought to the Capital by Firuz Shah Tughlak, about A. H. 757, or A. D. 1356. The account of the removal of these pillars from their original sites is given in detail by *Shams-i-Sirāj*, who was most likely an eye-witness of the re-erection in Iuzbad, as he records that he was 12 years of age at the time when they were set up. This circumstantial account of a contemporary writer at once disposes of Colonel Tod's story† that Firuz Shah's Pillar was originally standing "at *Nigambod*, a place of pilgrimage on the Jumna, a few miles below Delhi, whence it must have been removed to its present singular position." *Nigambod* still exists as a place of pilgrimage, being a *ghāt* immediately outside the northern wall of the city of Shahjahanabad. It is, therefore, *above* the city of Delhi, instead of being a few miles *below* it, as described by Colonel Tod.

Firuz Shah's Pillar, according to *Shams-i-Sirāj*, was brought from a place which is variously called *Topur*, *Topera*, *Toparsuk*, *Tohera*, *Tanera*, and *Nahera*.‡ The place is described as being "on the bank of the Jumna, in the district of Salora, not far from Khizrabad, which is at the foot of the mountains, 90 koss from Delhi." The distance from Delhi and the position at the foot of the mountains point out the present Khizrabad on the Jumna, just below the spot where the river issues from the lower range of Hills, as the place indicated by *Shams-i-Sirāj*. *Salora* is, perhaps, *Sidhora*, a

* Journal of Archaeological Society of Delhi, I, 74

† Rajasthan, II, 452

‡ Journal of the Archaeological Society of Delhi, I, pp 29 and 75. See also Sir H. M. Elliot's *Muhammadan History*, by Dowson, III, p 350, where the name of the village is given as *Tobra*

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Shah's Kotila. This I believe was actually the case, for on the west side of the column there still remain *in situ* the stumps of two short octagonal granite pillars that would appear to have formed part of a cloister or open gallery around a fourth story, which cannot have been less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ or 7 feet in height. I conclude, therefore, that the statement of Shams-i-Sirâj is quite correct.

When the pillar was at last fixed, the "top was ornamented with black and white stone-work surmounted by a *gilt* pinnacle, from which no doubt it received its name of *Minâr Zarin*, or 'Golden Pillar.' This gilt pinnacle was still in its place in A. D. 1611, when William Finch entered Delhi, as he describes the Stone Pillar of *Bimsa*, which, after passing through *three* several stories, rising 24 feet above them all, having on the top *a globe surmounted by a crescent.*" The 24 feet of this account are probably the same as the 24 *gaz* of the other, the *gaz* being only a fraction less than 16 inches.

The great inscription of Asoka, which is engraved on this pillar, attracted the notice and stimulated the curiosity of Firuz Shah, who assembled a number of learned Brahmans to decypher it, but without success. "Some, however, interpreted the writing to signify that no one would ever succeed in removing the pillar from the spot on which it originally stood, until a King should be born, by name Firuz Shah." This sort of unblushing mendacity is still but too common in India. Almost everywhere I have found Brahmans ready to tell me the subject of long inscriptions, of which they could not possibly read a single letter. Equally untrue, although not so shameless, are the accounts of this inscription given by Tom Coryat. In a letter to L. Whittaker,* he says—"I have been in a city of this country called Delee, where Alexander the Great joined battle with Porus, King of India, and defeated him, and where, in memory of his victory, he caused to be erected a brazen pillar, which remains there to this day." The same story, with additions, was repeated to the unsuspecting Chaplain Edward Terry,† who says—"I was told by Tom Coryat (who took special note of this place) that he, being in the city of Delee, observed a very great

* Kerr's Voyages and Travels, IX, 423

† Journal, p 81.

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pillar than any other, but it tapers much more rapidly towards the top, and is, therefore, less graceful in its outline.

There are two principal inscriptions on Firuz Shah's pillar, besides several minor records of pilgrims and travellers from the first centuries of the Christian era down to the present time. The oldest inscriptions for which the pillar was originally erected comprise the well known edicts of Asoka, which were promulgated in the middle of the third century B. C. in the ancient *Pāli*, or spoken language of the day. The alphabetical characters, which are of the oldest form that has yet been found in India, are most clearly and beautifully cut, and there are only a few letters of the whole record lost by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The inscription ends with a short sentence, in which King Asoka directs the setting up these monoliths in different parts of India as follows. "Let this religious edict be engraved on stone pillars (*sila thampha*) and stone tablets (*sila phalaka*) that it may endure for ever" In this amended passage we have a distinct allusion to the rock inscriptions, as well as to the pillar inscriptions. As this is the longest and most important of all the pillar inscriptions of Asoka, I made a careful impression of the whole for comparison with James Prinsep's published text. The record consists of four distinct inscriptions on the four sides of the column facing the cardinal points, and of one long inscription immediately below, which goes completely round the pillar. I may mention that the word *Ajakānani*, at the end of the 7th line south face, was not omitted "accidentally," as James Prinsep supposed, by the original engraver, but has been lost by the peeling away of the stone for about 4 inches. The vowel *i* attached to the final letter is still quite distinct. The penultimate word on the eastern face is not *agnim*, as doubtfully read by Prinsep, but *abhyum*, and, as he rightly conjectured, it is the same word that begins the 19th line. The last word in the 11th line, which puzzled Prinsep, is not *atikota*, but *atikantam*, the same as occurs near the beginning of the 15th line. The few corrections which I have noticed here show the accuracy of Bournouf's opinion, that a new collation of

* See James Prinsep in *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* 1837, p. 622. He reads *atikantam*, instead of *atikota*, which is given in the text.

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corresponds with that assigned to them by Colonel Tod. It is *Cháluk Rao*, the founder of the *Chálukya*, or *Solánkhi* tribe, that is fabled to have sprung from Brahma.

The minor inscriptions on Firuz Shah's Pillar are of little interest or importance. They are, however, of different ages, and the more ancient records must have been inscribed while the pillar yet stood on its original site, under the hills to the north of *Khizrabad*. One of the oldest is the name of *Sri Bhadra Mitra*, or *Subhadramitra*, in characters of the Gupta era. This is written in very small letters, as are also two others of the same age. In larger letters of a somewhat later date, there are several short inscriptions, of which the most legible is *Surya Vishnu Subarnakakana*. A second begins with *Hara Singha Subarnakakana*, the remainder being illegible, with exception of the word *Kumára*. A third reads *Charma Subana*, the second letter being somewhat doubtful. This record is extended in another place to *Charma Subanakshára*. Of a much later date is the name of the *Sana* mendicant *Siddh Bhayankarnáth Jogi*, followed by a *trisol*. The name of this wandering mendicant is also recorded in the very same characters, but simply as "*Bhayankar Náth*," in one of the *Barábar* caves in *Bihár* *. On the northern face there are two still later inscriptions in modern *Nâgarí*, both of which bear the same date of Wednesday, 13th, waning moon of *Charitra*, in *Samvat* 1581, or A. D. 1524. The longer inscription contains the name of *Suritan Ibráhm*, or Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, who reigned from A. D. 1517 to 1525.

The second of Asoka's Delhi Pillars is now lying in five pieces near Hindu Rao's house on the top of the hill to the north-west of Shahjahânâbâd. The whole length of these pieces was $32\frac{3}{4}$ feet, but the upper end of the middle piece, which was inscribed with Asoka's edicts, was sawn off some years ago, and sent to Calcutta, where it may now be seen in the Asiatic Society's Museum †. The portion of the shaft that was below the inscription still measures 18 feet, and that which was above it, 12 feet. As the end of the shaft is still rough, it seems probable that the polished portion could not

* See p. 22, and Plate XX.

† This has now been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has been restored, but I think that it ought rather to have been set up at Mirat, from whence it was originally brought by Firuz Shah.

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The inscriptions on this pillar are very imperfect, owing to the mutilated and worn surface of the stone. Such portions as remain have been carefully examined by James Prinsep, who found them to be "so precisely the duplicates" of the other inscription that he did not think "it worth while to make them the subject of a separate note." The remaining portions, which correspond with parts of the inscriptions on the north, south, and west faces of the other pillar, have been lithographed by Prinsep in Plate XLII, Vol. VI. of his Journal.

The *Iron Pillar* of Delhi, which is the next work in point of antiquity, is one of the most curious monuments in India. Many large works in metal were no doubt made in ancient times, such, for instance, as the celebrated Colossus of Rhodes, and the gigantic statues of the Buddhists, which are described by Hwen Thsang. But all of these were of brass or copper, all of them were hollow, and they were all built up of pieces rivetted together, whereas the Delhi Pillar is a solid shaft of wrought iron upwards of 16 inches in diameter, and upwards of 40 feet in length. It is true that there are flaws in many parts, which shew that the welding is imperfect; but when we consider the extreme difficulty of manufacturing a pillar of such vast dimensions, our wonder will not be diminished by knowing that the welding of the bar is defective. The total height of the pillar above ground is 22 feet, but the smooth shaft is only 15 feet, the capital being $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the rough part of the shaft below also $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. But its depth under ground is asserted to be considerably greater than its height above ground, as a recent excavation is said to have been carried down to 26 feet without reaching the foundation on which the pillar rests †. The whole length of the Iron Pillar is, therefore, upwards of 48 feet, but how much more is not known, although it must be considerable, as the pillar is said not to have been loosened by the excavation. I think, therefore, it is highly probable that the whole length is not less than 60 feet. The lower diameter of the shaft is 16.4 inches, and the upper diameter is 12.05 inches, the diminution being .29 of an inch per foot. The pillar contains about 80 cubic feet of metal, and weighs upwards of 17 tons.

* Journal of Asiatic Society, Bengal, VI, 794

† Mr Cooper told me 26 feet, but the man in charge assured me that the actual depth reached was 35 feet

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on the *Sindhu*, named *Vahlkas*, and “obtained with his own arm an undivided sovereignty on the earth for a long period” The above is the whole of the meagre information that can be gathered from this inscription, save the bare fact that the Raja was a worshipper of Vishnu The date of the inscription is referred by James Prinsep to the third or fourth century after Christ; but Mr. Thomas considers that this is “too high an antiquity for the style of writing employed on the monument.” I agree, however, with Prinsep, as the characters appear to me to be exactly the same as those of the Gupta inscriptions. I have already suggested the year A. D. 319, which is the initial point of the Balabhi or Gupta era, as an approximate date, as I think it not improbable that the Raja may have assisted in the downfall of the powerful Gupta dynasty. I read his name preferably as *Bhāva*, the letter *bh* having got closed by the accidental slip of the punching chisel. The letter is different from every other *dh* in the inscription

According to universal tradition, the Iron Pillar was erected by *Bīlan Deo*, or Anang Pāl, the founder of the Tomara dynasty, who was assured by a learned Brahman that, as the foot of the pillar had been driven so deep into the ground that it rested on the head of *Vasuki*, King of the Serpents, who supports the earth; it was now immoveable, and that dominion would remain in his family as long as the pillar stood. But the Raja, doubting the truth of the Brahman’s statement, ordered the pillar to be dug up, when the foot of it was found wet with the blood of the serpent king, whose head it had pierced. Regretting his unbelief, the Iron Pillar was again raised; but, owing to the king’s former incredulity, every plan now failed in fixing it firmly, and, in spite of all his efforts, it still remained loose (*dhīla*) in the ground, and this is said to have been the origin of the name of the ancient city of *Dhīli*.

This tradition has been variously reported by different authorities, but the main points are the same in all Colonel Tod states that the Iron Pillar is said to be resting on the head of the *Sahas Nāg*, who is the same as *Vasuki*, the Serpent King A lady traveller, who visited Delhi between 1804 and 1814, heard the tradition in a somewhat different way.* A Brahman told the king that if he could place the seat of his government on the head of the snake that supports the world,

* “Tour in the Upper Provinces,” by A D , p 166

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Vyâs had no sooner departed, than the incredulous Raja boldly declared his disbelief in the sage's announcement, when immediately

“ *Bîlan De khuntî ukhârî dekhî,*

“ *Tab lohu se chuchâtî nikalî.*”

“ He saw the spike thrown on the ground,

“ Blood-dropping from the serpent's wound ”

The sage was recalled by the horrified king, who was directed to drive the stake into the ground a second time. Again he struck, but the spike penetrated only nineteen fingers, and remained *loose* in the ground. Once more then the sage addressed the Raja prophetically,—“ Like the spike (*killî*) which you have driven, your dynasty will be unstable (*dillî*), and after ‘nineteen’ generations it will be supplanted by the Chohâns, and they by the Turkâns ” Bîlan De then became King of *Dillî*, and with his descendants held the throne for nineteen generations, according to the number of fingers' lengths which the spike had been driven into the ground.

What was the origin of this tradition, and at what time it first obtained currency, may never, perhaps, be known, but I think we are justified in hazarding a guess that the long reign of the Tomar dynasty must first have led to an opinion of its durability which would then have been naturally compared with the evident stability with which the Iron Pillar was fixed in the ground. We have an exactly parallel case in the well known saying about Rome and the Coliseum—“ *Quamdiû stabit Colyseus, stabit et Roma quando cadit Colyseus cadit Roma,*” which the verse of Byron has rendered famous.—

“ While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand,

“ When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall ”

This, indeed, is the oldest form of the Indian tradition that I have been able to trace. When the Muhammadan conqueror first took possession of Delhi, he was informed that the inscription on the Iron Pillar declared that the Hindu rule would last as long as the pillar remained standing; on hearing which, to show his contempt of the prophecy, the proud victor allowed the pillar to stand. This same story must have been told to Bishop Heber, but he has jumbled it

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in the north cloister there is a pillar made up of no less than three shafts of exactly the same pattern, piled one over the other. This may be seen in Beato's photograph of this cloister (see the 4th pillar on the left hand). The general effect of these large rows of made-up columns is certainly rich and pleasing; but this effect is due to the kindly hand of time, which has almost entirely removed the coating of plaster with which the whole of these beautifully sculptured pillars were once barbarously covered by the idol-hating Musalmâns.

The same doubling up of the old Hindu pillars has been followed in the cloisters of the outer court of the Kutb Minar, the shaft of one plain pillar being placed over another to obtain height. A similar re-arrangement may be observed in the Court of the *Jāma* or Dina Masjid of Kanoj, commonly called *Sita-ka-Rasun*, or "Sita's kitchen."

The number of decorated pillars now remaining in the court-yard of the Great Mosque around the Iron Pillar is, as nearly as I could reckon them, 340; but as the cloisters are incomplete, the original number must have been much greater. My reckoning makes them 450. In the interior of the Great Mosque itself there are 35 pillars now remaining, of a much larger size and of a somewhat different style of decoration. When the Mosque was complete there must have been not less than 76 of these pillars. Of the plainer pillars in the court-yard of the Kutb Minar I counted 376, but the total number required to complete the cloisters would be about 1,200.

I have given these figures in detail for the purpose of corroborating the statement of the Musalmân conqueror, with regard to the number of temples that were standing in Dilli at the close of the Hindu power. The usual number of columns in a Hindu temple is from 20 to 30, although a few of the larger temples may have from 50 to 60. But these are exceptional cases, and they are more than balanced by the greater number of smaller temples, which have not more than 12 or 16 pillars. The great temple of *Vishnupad* at Gaya has 50 pillars, and Mr. Fergusson mentions that a temple of 56 pillars was the most extended arrangement that he had met with under a single dome.* The magnificent

* Illustrations of Indian Architecture, Introd., p 18

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facts I conclude, with a probability amounting almost to certainty, that the temple from which these pillars were obtained consisted of 20 columns only. On No. 12 shaft there is the word *Kachal* in Nagari letters on one face, with the date of 1124 on another face, which, referred to the *Vikramâditya Samvat*, is equivalent to A. D. 1067, at which time Anang Pâl II., the founder of Lâlkot, was reigning in Dilli.

But the mason's marks on the stones of this temple were not confined to the pillars, as I discovered them on no less than 13 different portions of its entablature. These marks are more than usually detailed; but, unfortunately, in spite of their length and apparent clearness, I am still unable to make them out completely.*

The marks are the following:

A — <i>Chapa Vîda</i> 3 .	Upper <i>Vîda</i> (?) No. 3
B — <i>Chapa Vîda</i> 4	Ditto (?) No 4
C — <i>Pâchuki</i> 4 . .	Rear (?) No 4
D — <i>Pâchuki</i> 5 pachhim .	Rear (?) No 5 west.
E — <i>Vî Chaothe</i> . . .	<i>Vîda</i> (?) fourth.
F — <i>Vî panchama</i>	<i>Vîda</i> (?) fifth.
G — <i>Prathama Dâshen</i> .	First Architrave
H — <i>Pachchhim Raki Dâshen</i> ...	West side Architrave.
K — <i>Purab Prathama</i> .	East first
L — <i>Purab</i> 3 .. .	East No 3
M — <i>Pachchhim Ra</i> 3 A-(ge ?) .	West side No 3., front?
N — <i>Pachchhim Raki pachchhe</i> .	West side back
O. — <i>Pachchhim Raki</i> 6 <i>pachchhe</i> .	West side No 6, back

There is a peculiarity about the numbers of the pillars which is worthy of note. Each cypher is preceded by the initial letter of the word for that number. Thus, 3 is preceded by *ti* for *tin*, 10 by *da* for *das*, and 16 by *so* for *solah*. The same style of marking would appear to have been used for a second temple, as I found a pillar of another pattern with the number *du* 2, and a pilaster of the same kind with

* See Plate XXXVII for copies of these mason's marks, and a drawing of one of the pillars. During a visit of a few hours in the present year, 1871, I found two numbered pillars of a different kind, with the Nos. 2 and 19, showing that a second temple, destroyed by the Muhammadans, must have been supported on not less than 20 pillars. I found also a mason's record of five lines on a third variety of pillar, but the letters are faint and difficult to read. I can make out a notice of 7+6+5+8, or 26 pillars altogether, of which I discovered 6 in the cloisters.

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so colossal. By different measurements I found the ramparts to be from 28 to 30 feet in thickness, of which the parapet is just one-half. The same thickness of parapet is also derived from the measurement given by Ibn Batuta in A. D. 1340, who says that the walls were *eleven* cubits thick. Accepting this measure as the same that was in use in Firuz Shah's time, namely, of 16 inches, as derived from the length of Firuz Shah's pillar, the thickness of the walls of old Dilli was $14\frac{3}{4}$ feet. These massive ramparts have a general height of 60 feet above the bottom of the ditch, which still exists in very fair order all round the fort, except on the south side, where there is a deep and extensive hollow that was most probably once filled with water. About one-half of the main walls are still standing as firm and as solid as when they were first built. At all the salient points there are large bastions from 60 to 100 feet in diameter. Two of the largest of these, which are on the north side, are called the *Fateh Bûrj* and the *Sohan Bûrj*. The long lines of wall between these bastions are broken by numbers of smaller towers well splayed out at the base, and 45 feet in diameter at top, with curtains of 80 feet between them. Along the base of these towers, which are still 30 feet in height, there is an outer line of wall forming a *raoni* or *faussebraie*, which is also 30 feet in height. The parapet of this wall has entirely disappeared, and the wall itself is so much broken, as to afford an easy descent into the ditch in many places. The upper portion of the counterscrap walls has all nearly fallen down, excepting on the north-west side, where there is a double line of works strengthened by detached bastions.

The positions of three of the gateways in the west half of the fort are easily recognized, but the walls of the eastern half are so much broken that it is now only possible to guess at the probable position of one other gate. The north gate is judiciously placed in the re-entering angle close to the *Fateh Bûrj*, where it still forms a deep gap in the lofty mass of rampart, by which the cowherds enter with their cattle. The west gate is the only one of which any portion of the walls now remains. It is said to have been called the *Ranjit* gate. This gate-way was 17 feet wide, and there is still standing on the left hand side a large upright stone, with a groove for guiding the ascent and descent of a portcullis. This stone is 7 feet in height above the

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gate was called the Ghazni Gate for the simple reason only that Ghazni lies to the west of Delhi

The Fort of Rai Pithora, which surrounds the citadel of Lâlkot on three sides, would appear to have been built to protect the Hindu city of *Dilli* from the attacks of the Musalmâns. As early as A. D. 1100, the descendants of Mahmud, retiring from Ghazni before the rising power of the Saljukis, had fixed their new capital at Lahor, although Ghazni still belonged to their kingdom, and was occasionally the seat of Government. But a new and more formidable enemy soon appeared, when the celebrated Muaz-uddin Sâm, commonly called Muhammad Ghori, after capturing the cities of Multan and Parshâwar, appeared before Lahor in A. D. 1180, and put an end to the Ghaznavide dynasty by the capture of their capital in A. D. 1186. The danger was now imminent, and only a few years later we find the Ghori King in full march on Ajmer. But the Raja of Dilli was well prepared for this invasion, and, with the aid of his allies, he defeated the Musalmâns with great slaughter at *Tilaori*, midway between Karnâl and Thanesar. As the first appearance of the formidable Ghoris before Lahor corresponds so nearly with the accession of Prithivi Raja, I think it very probable that the fortification of the city of Dilli was forced upon the Raja by a well-grounded apprehension that Dilli itself might soon be attacked; and so it happened, for within two years after the battle of *Tilaori* the Raja was a prisoner, and Dilli was in the possession of the Musalmâns.

The circuit of Rai Pithora's Fort is 4 miles and 3 furlongs, or just three times as much as that of *Lâlkot*. But the defences of the city are in every way inferior to those of the citadel. The walls are only half the height, and the towers are placed at much longer intervals. The wall of the city is carried from the north bastion of Lâlkot, called *Fateh Bûrij*, to the north-east for three-quarters of a mile, where it turns to the south-east for $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the *Damdama Bûrij*. From this bastion the direction of the wall for about one mile is south-west, and then north-west for a short distance to the south end of the hill on which Azim Khan's tomb is situated. Beyond this point the wall can be traced for some distance to the north along the ridge which was most probably connected with the south-east corner of Lâlkot, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sir T. Metcalfe's house.

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the Adina Masjid. This Great Mosque, which even in ruin is one of the most magnificent works in the world, was seen by Ibn Batuta* about 150 years after its erection, when he describes it as having no equal, either for beauty or extent. In the time of Timur, the people of old Delhi prepared to defend the Great Mosque, but they were all, according to the Muhammadan Historian Sharaf-uddin, despatched by the sword "to the deepest hell." The Mosque is not mentioned by Baber, although he notices the Minar and the tomb of Khwaja Kutb-uddin, which he perambulated.† It is not mentioned either by Abul Fazl; but no inference can be drawn from his silence, as he does not even allude to the Kutb Minâr. The Minar itself was repaired during the reign of Sikandar Lodi; but we hear nothing of the Great Mosque, from which, perhaps, it may be inferred either that it was still in good order, or that it was too much ruined to be easily repaired. I conclude that the latter was the case, as it seems probable that the permanent removal of the court from Delhi to Firûzabad must have led to the gradual abandonment of the old city. We have a parallel case in the removal of the Hindu court from Kanoj to the Bâri in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. This removal took place in A. D. 1022 and in A. D. 1031, or within ten years, Abu Rihan records that Kanoj having been deserted by its ruler, "fell to ruin."

The Great Mosque of Kutb-uddin was begun immediately after the capture of Delhi in A. H. 587, or A. D. 1191, as recorded by the King himself in the long inscription over the inner archway of the east entrance. This is the reading of the date given by Syad Ahmad, and Mr. Thomas has shown good grounds for its being the true date. My own reading was 589, taking *tisa* or nine, where Syad Ahmad reads *saba* or seven, but the two words are so much alike that they may be read differently by different people. Mr. Thomas has pointed out that Ibn Batuta read the unit as *arba* or four. In this inscription, as well as in the shorter one over the outer archway of the same gate, Kutb-uddin refrains from calling himself by the title of Sultân, which he bestows on his Suzerain Muaz-uddin in the inscription over the north

* Travels, p 111

† Memoirs, p 308

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side of the court, one fixed in the inner wall in the north-east angle just above the pillars, and the other in the outer wall between the north gate and the north-east corner. The inner sculpture represents several well known Hindu gods,—1st, *Vishnu*, lying on a couch with a lotus rising from his navel, and covered by a canopy, with two attendants, one standing at his head and one sitting at his feet, 2nd, a seated figure not recognized; 3rd, *Jadva*, on his elephant; 4th, *Brâhma*, with three heads seated on his goose; 5th, *Siva*, with his trident seated on his bull *Nandi*; 6th, a figure with lotus seated on some animal not recognized. The outer sculpture is of a different description. The scene shows two rooms with a half-opened door between them. In each room there is a female lying on a couch with a child by her side, a canopy over her head, and an attendant at her feet. In the left-hand room two females are seen carrying children towards the door, and in the right-hand room two others are doing the same. The whole four of these females appear to be hastening towards the principal figure in the right-hand room. I am unable to offer any explanation of this very curious scene, but as it is very unlikely that these figures would have been exposed to the sight of the early Musalmâns, I conclude that these stones must also have been carefully plastered over.

During the reign of Altamsh, the son-in-law of Kutb-uddin, the Great Mosque was much enlarged by the addition of two wings to the north and south, and by the erection of a new cloistered court on the north, east, and south sides, so as to include the Kutb Minar in the south-east corner of the enclosure. The fronts of the two wing buildings are pierced by three arches each, the middle arches being 24 feet span, and the side arches 13 feet. The walls are of the same thickness, and their ornamental scrolls are of the same delicate and elaborate tracery as those of the original Mosque.* The whole front of the Jâma Masjid, with its new additions, is 384 feet in length, which is also the length of its cloistered court, the breadth being 220 feet. The wall on the south side of the court, as well as the south end of the east wall, are fortunately in good preservation, and, as about three-fourths of the columns are still standing, we are able to measure the size of the enclosure with precision, and to reckon the number

* See plate No XXXVII for a plan of the original Masjid and its additions.

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I confess, however, that my own opinion is strongly in favour of the contemporaneous engraving of the inscriptions, and of the erection of the long line of noble arches by the earlier Kings Aibeg and Altamsh. I rest my opinion not only on the positive statement of Hasan Nizami, a contemporary of Aibeg, who records that Kutb-uddin "built the Jâmi Masjid at Delhi," and covered it with "inscriptions in *Tughra* containing the divine commands,"* but also on the shape and construction of the arches, and the form of the letters, both of which correspond with those of the Altamsh Masjid at Ajmer, while they differ entirely from those of the Alai Darwâza and Khizri Masjid of the time of Alauddin. I note first that the four remaining arches of Kutb-uddin's Mosque are ogee in shape like those of the Great Mosque at Ajmer, and quite different from the pointed and horse-shoe arches of Alauddin. I note next that the upright letters of the Kutb Masjid are very nearly of uniform thickness, thus agreeing with those of the dated inscriptions on the gateways, while those of Alauddin's time are invariably much broader at top than at bottom. Lastly, I note that the undulated flower stem, which forms the ornament of the main line of inscription on the central arch of the Mosque, is exactly the same as that of the inscription on the north gate which is dated in A. H. 591.†

During the present century, much speculation has been wasted as to the origin of the Kutb Minar, whether it is a purely Muhammadan building, or a Hindu building altered and completed by the conquerors. The latter is undoubtedly the common belief of the people, who say that the pillar was built by Rai Pithora for the purpose of giving his daughter a view of the River Jumna. Some people even say that the intention was to obtain a view of the Ganges, and that the Kutb Minar having failed to secure this a second pillar of double the size was commenced, but the work was interrupted by the conquest of the Musalmâns. The first part of this tradition was warmly adopted by Sir T. Metelafe, and it has since found a strong advocate in Syad Ahmad, whose remarks are quoted with approval by Mr. Cooper in his recent hand-book for

* Sir H. M. Elliot's *Historians*, by Dowson, II, p. 222

† Compare this dated inscription No. 7, plate XIII. of the *Asâr us Sunnâd*, with any large photograph of the Kutb arches

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built by Mahmud in the early part of the 11th century, or about 180 years prior to the erection of the Kutb Minar. Another equally decisive proof of this practice is the solitary Minar at Koel, which was built in A. H. 652, or A. D. 1254, by *Kutlugh Khan*, during the reign of Nâsir-uddîn Mahmud, the youngest son of Alâmsh, in whose time the Kutb Minar itself was completed. These still existing Minars of Ghazni and Koel show that it was the practice of the early Muhammadans to have only one Minar even down to so late a date as the middle of the 13th century.

2nd—It is objected that the slope of the Kutb Minar is much greater than that of any other known Minars. This objection has already been satisfactorily answered by Colonel Sleeman, who says truly that “the slope is the peculiar characteristic of the architecture of the Pathans.”

3rd—Syad Ahmad argues that, if the Minar had been intended as a *Mâzinah* to the Great Mosque, it would have been erected at one end of it, instead of being at some distance from it. In reply to this objection I can point again to the Koel Minar, which occupies exactly the same detached position with regard to the Jâma Masjid of Koel as the Kutb Minar does with respect to the Great Mosque of Delhi. Both of them are placed outside the south-east corner of their respective Masjids. This coincidence of position seems to me sufficient to settle the question in favor of the Kutb Minar having been intended as a *Mâzinah* of the Great Mosque.

4th.—Syad Ahmad further argues “that the entrance door faces the north, as the Hindus always have it,” whereas the Muhammadans invariably place it to the eastward, as may be seen in the unfinished “Minar of Alauddîn to the north of the Kutb Minar.” Once more I appeal to the Koel Minar, which, be it remembered, was erected by the son of the Emperor who completed the building of the Kutb Minar, and which may, therefore, be looked upon as an almost contemporary work. In the Koel Minar the entrance door is to the north, exactly as in the Kutb Minar. In both instances, I believe that it was so placed chiefly for the convenience of the Muazzin when going to call the faithful to prayer. It think, also, that Syad Ahmad has overlooked the fact that the Minars of modern days are “engaged” towers, that is, they form the ends of the front wall of the Mosque, and, as the

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Muhammadans in India also erect their buildings on plinths or raised terraces, I readily admit; for, on the same principle that a Cuckoo may be said to build a nest, the Musalmâns usually placed their buildings on the sites of Hindu temples which they had previously destroyed. The Mosques at Mathura, Kanoj, and Jonpur, are signal examples of this practice. The raised terrace is, therefore, only an accidental adjunct of the Muhammadan building, whereas it is a fundamental part of the Hindu structure. But the early Musalmâns did *not* place their buildings on raised terraces or platforms, as may be seen by a reference to the Drawings of Mosques in Syria and Persia, which are given in Fergusson's Hand-book.* The Ghaznivides also, who were the more immediate predecessors of the Indian Musalmâns, built their Minars at Ghazni without plinths. The contemporary tomb of Altamsh is likewise without a plinth. From all these facts I infer that the early Musalmân structures in India were usually built without plinths, and therefore that the Kutb Minar is undoubtedly a Muhammadan building.

5th.—The last argument brought forward by Syad Ahmad is, that bells, which are used in Hindu worship, are found sculptured on the lower part of the basement storey of the Kutb Minar. It is true that bells are used in the daily worship of the Hindus, and also that they are a common ornament of Hindu columns, as may be seen on most of the pillars in the cloisters of the Great Mosque. But bells are no more idolatrous than flowers, which are used in such profusion in the daily service of the Hindu temples. The fact is that, where Muhammadan mosques have been built of the materials stolen from Hindu temples, such portions of architectural ornament as were free from figures either of men or of animals, were invariably made use of by the conquerors. For this reason most of the ornamentation of the early Musalmân buildings is purely Hindu. For instance, in the Jâma Masjid of Kanoj, which is built entirely of Hindu materials, the whole of the concentric circles of overlapping stones in the central dome, with only one exception, still preserve the original Hindu ornament unaltered. The exception is the lowest circle, which is completely covered with Arabic inscriptions. One of the Hindu circles is made up solely of the *Swastika* or mystic cross of the early Indians. This symbol is essentially an idolatrous one, although it is

* Vol I, p 415

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Altamsh. But the fact is placed beyond all doubt by Abulfeda, who wrote about A. D. 1300. He describes the *Masnah* of the Jāma Masjid at Delhi as made of red stone and very lofty, with many sides and 360 steps. Now this description can be applied only to the Kutb Minar, which, as it at present stands, has actually 379 steps; but we know that the Minar was struck by lightning in the reign of Firuz Shah, by whose orders it was repaired in A. D. 1368. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in the account of Abulfeda that the Minar in his time had only 360 steps. On the contrary I accept the statement as a valuable hint towards ascertaining the height of the original Minar as completed by the Emperor Altamsh.*

The object of building this lofty column seems to me to be clear enough. The first Musalmān conquerors were an energetic race, whose conceptions were as bold and daring as their actions. When the zealous Muhammadan looked on the great city of Delhi, the metropolis of the princely Tomars and the haughty Chohans, his first wish would have been to humble the pride of the infidel, his second, to exalt the religion of his prophet Muhammad. To attain both of these objects, he built a lofty column, from whose summit the *Muazzin's* call to morning and evening prayer could be heard on all sides by Hindus as well as by Musalmāns. The conqueror's pride was soothed by the daily insult and indignity thus offered to the infidel, while his religious feelings were gratified by the erection of a noble monument which towered majestically over the loftiest houses in the city.

The Kutb Minar, as it stands now, is 238 feet and 1 inch in height, with a base diameter of 47 feet 3 inches, and an upper diameter of nearly 9 feet. The base or plinth of the pillar is 2 feet in height, the shaft is 234 feet and 1 inch, and the base or stump of the old cupola is 2 feet more; thus making the whole height 238 feet 1 inch. The shaft is divided into five storeys, of which the lower storey is 94 feet 11 inches in height, and the upper storey is 22 feet 4 inches, the two

* See Gildemeister *Scriptorum Arabum de rebus Indicis*. He describes it as built of red stone.

Of the 379 steps 3 belong to Major Smith's cupola, and 37 to the upper storey of 22 feet 4 inches, which leave 339 steps to the four lower storeys. In the time of Abulfeda, there must consequently have been 21 steps above the fourth storey to make up his total of 360 steps. These would be equal to 13 feet in height, making the total height in his time 228 feet 9 inches, or 9 feet 4 inches less than at present. This agrees with the statement of Firuz Shah, who says—"The *Mināra* of Sultan Muiz-uddin Sām had been struck by lightning, I repaired it, and raised it *higher than it was before*."—See Dowson's edition of Sir H. M. Elliot's *Historians*, III, 383. *Futuhāt-i Firuz Shāh*.

Now it is remarkable that, according to the account of Hwen Thsang, this stupa was also referred to a Chakravartti Raja by the Buddhists of the 7th century. He states that at somewhat less than 200 $\frac{1}{2}$ (that is, less than 33 miles, or say about 30 miles) to the north west of Vaisālī, which is the exact position of the Kesariya stupa, there was an ancient town which had been deserted for many ages. It possessed a stupa built over the spot where Buddha had announced that in one of his former existences he had been a Bodhisatwa, and had reigned over that town as a *Chakravartti Raja*, named *Mahadeva* *. It can hardly, I think be doubted that the tradition of Raja Ben preserves the very same story which is recorded by Hwen Thsang. That the stupa was intended to commemorate a Chakravartti Raja might also have been inferred from its position at the meeting of four principal roads. For a Chakravartti Raja, said Buddha addressing Ananda, "they build the *stupa* at a spot where four principal roads meet." Now to the south of Kesariya, within one-quarter of a mile of the stupa, the two great thoroughfares of the district cross each other, namely, that from Patna northward to Bettiah, and that from Chapra across the Gandak, north-eastwards to Nopāl.

On the east side of the Kesariya stupa a gallery has been excavated right to the centre of the building. This is said to have been done upwards of 10 years ago by one Kāsi Nāth Babu, the servant of a Colonel Sāheb. As the name of 'Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Madras Engineers, 1814,' is inscribed on the Bakhra Pillar. I think it probable that the excavation was made by his orders. No discovery was made and if I am right in my identification of this stupa with that which was erected on the spot where Buddha announced his previous existence as a Chakravartti Raja, it is almost certain that it would not have been the depository of relics or of other objects. The monument was in fact, only a memorial stupa erected to perpetuate the fame of one of Buddha's acts and not a sepulchral stupa for the reception of relics.

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The only way in which I can account for the great difference of 5 feet in the height of the lower storey between Blunt's measurements taken in 1794 and the actual height as it now stands, is by supposing that there must have been an accumulation of rubbish at the foot of the tower which would have diminished the actual height of the basement storey. His heights of the second and third storeys agree very closely with my measurements, but that of the fourth storey is more than 2 feet short of the true height. The height of the fifth storey is not given.

In recording Blunt's measurements Mr. Fergusson has, I think, made a mistake in excluding the cupola from the ascertained height of 242 feet 6 inches. Blunt distinctly states that the height of the third storey was 180 feet, which, deducted from $242\frac{1}{2}$, will give no less than $62\frac{1}{2}$ feet for the height of the two upper storeys. But this height, as we know from present measurements, is only 25 feet 4 inches, plus 22 feet 4 inches, or altogether 47 feet 8 inches, which, deducted from $62\frac{1}{2}$ feet, leaves 14 feet 10 inches unaccounted for. I conclude, therefore, that this must have been the height of the cupola as it stood in A. D. 1794. Accepting this view as correct, the true height of the Kutb Minar in 1794 must have been 236 feet 1 inch, plus 14 feet 10 inches, or 250 feet 11 inches.

The base or plinth of the Kutb Minar is a polygon of 24 sides, each side measuring 6 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, or altogether 147 feet. The basement storey has the same number of faces formed into convex flutes, which are alternately angular and semi-circular. This last fact alone is sufficient to show the inaccuracy of Blunt's description of the plan as a polygon of 27 sides,* as any uneven number of faces would have brought two flutes of the same kind together. In the second storey the flutes are all semi-circular, and in the third storey they are all angular. The fourth storey is circular and plain, and the fifth storey is partially fluted with convex semi-circular flutes. Round the top of each storey runs a bold projecting balcony, which is richly and elaborately decorated. The three lower storeys are also ornamented with belts of Arabic writing, bordered with richly decorated hands. These three storeys are built entirely of red sand-stone, but there is a

* Asiatic Researches of Bengal, IV, 324

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balconies and the plain slight building on the top of the pillar do not harmonize with the massive and richly ornamented Pathàn architecture." Major Smith's pavilion was taken down in 1817 or 1818 by order of Lord Hardinge. I presume that this was done at the suggestion of his eldest son, the present Lord Hardinge, whose known artistic taste and skill would at once have detected the architectural unfitness of such a flimsy pavilion for the summit of this noble column.

On the 1st of August 1803, the old cupola of the Kutb Minar was thrown down, and the whole pillar seriously injured by an earthquake. A drawing of the pillar, while it was in this state, was made by Captain Elliot upwards of two years after the earthquake, but the engraving of this drawing is too small to show the nature of the balustrades of the balconies. About this time the dangerous state of the pillar was brought to the notice of the Governor General, who authorized the necessary repairs to be begun at once. This difficult work was entrusted to Major Robert Smith, of the Engineers, and was completed by the beginning of the year 1828, at a cost of Rs. 17,000, with a further charge of more than Rs 5,000 for clearing the runs around the pillar. The intricate nature of some of these repairs can be best seen and understood by an examination of Mallitte's large photograph of the lower balcony. All the forms of the mouldings have been carefully preserved, but the rich ornamentation has been omitted as too costly, and the new stonework is, therefore, quite plain throughout. This part of the work appears to have been done with much patience and skill, and Major Smith deserves credit for the conscientious care which he bestowed upon it. But this commendation must be confined to the *repairs*, for the *restorations* of the entrance door-way, of the balustrades, and of the cupola, are altogether out of keeping with the rest of the pillar.

It appears from Major Smith's report that the old entrance doorway was still in existence at that time, although much broken. This being the case, he should have adhered strictly to the original design, instead of which, to use his own words, "the former rude and fractured entrance door of the base of the column (was) repaired, and *improved with new mouldings, frieze*, and repair of the inscription tablet." From this statement I infer that the whole of the entrance

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the reign of Sikander Shah, son of Bahlol, by Fateh Khan, the son of Khawâs Khan, in A. H. 909 or A. D. 1503.

In the second storey the inscription over the doorway records that the Emperor Altamsh ordered the completion of the Minar. The lowermost belt contains the verses of the Koran respecting the summons to prayers on Friday, and the upper line contains the praises of the Emperor Altamsh. Over the door of the third storey the praises of Altamsh are repeated, and again in the belt of inscription round the column. In the fourth storey the door inscription records that the Minar was ordered to be erected during the reign of Altamsh. The inscription over the door of the fifth storey states that the Minar having been injured by lightning, was repaired by the Emperor Firuz Shah in A. H. 770 or A. D. 1368.

But besides these long inscriptions, which form part of the architectural ornament of the pillar, there are a few other short records which are worth preserving. On the basement storey is recorded the name of Fazzil, son of Abul Muâli, the *Mutawali* or high priest; and on one side of the third storey is found the name of *Muhammad Amercho*, Architect. On the same storey, also, there is a short Nâgarî inscription in one line with the name of *Muhammad Sultân* and the date of *Samvat* 1382 or A. D. 1325, which was the first year of Muhammad Tughlak's reign. On the wall of the fourth storey there is another Nâgarî inscription, in two lines, which is dated in the *Samvat* year 1425 or A. D. 1368, in the reign of *Piroj Sâh*, or Firuz Shah Tughlak. A third Nâgarî inscription is found on the south jamb of the doorway of the fourth storey, cut partly on the white marble and partly on the red sand-stone. This also gives the name of Firuz Shah, but the date is one year later than the last, or *Samvat* 1426. This is the longest and most important of the Nâgarî inscriptions, but unfortunately it is not in such a state of preservation, more especially the upper portion on the white marble, as to be easily legible. I can make out the words *Sri Viswakarma prasâde ruchita*, and towards the end I find the title of *Silpi*, or "Architect," applied to the son of *Châhada Deva Pâla*, named *Nana salha*, who repaired the Minar. But in the middle of the inscription I find no less than five numbers given in figures, all of which are preceded by the word *gay*, as *gay* 22, *gay* 3, *gay* 26, *gay* 131, and *gay* 134. I

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over the doorway of the second storey, which records that Altamsh ordered the *completion* of the Minar, as a proof that he did not commence it. But another inscription over the doorway of the fourth storey seems to be equally explicit in assigning the *beginning* of the Minar to Altamsh. Both Syad Ahmad and *Nawâb Zia-uddin* give the same translation of this inscription, namely, that "the erection of this building was ordered during the reign of Shamsuddin Altamsh." It is possible, however, that the order recorded in this inscription may refer to the fourth storey only, and as this limited view of its meaning will bring the two otherwise conflicting inscriptions into strict accord with each other, I think that it may be accepted as the most probable intention of the inscriber. The statements of Abulfeda, Shams-Sirâj, and Sikandar Lodi, all of which agree in calling this pillar the Minar of Altamsh, may, perhaps, be explained as conveying only the popular opinion, and are certainly not entitled to the same weight as the two inscriptions on the basement storey which record the name and titles of Muhammad Bin Sâm, the Suzerain of Kutb-uddin Aibeg, whose name is now attached to the pillar. The absence of Altamsh's name in the inscription of the lower storey is, I think, a conclusive proof that he himself did not claim it as his own work.*

According to Syad Ahmad, the Emperor Altamsh erected five storeys in addition to the basement storey, and another storey was afterwards added by Firuz Shah; thus making, altogether, seven storeys, of which he says that "two have fallen down and five remain to this day." But both of these statements I believe to be quite erroneous, for the mention of 360 steps by Abulfeda in about A. D. 1300, makes it certain that the Minar, as completed by Altamsh, could not have been higher than the present one, which has 379 steps. The five stories of Altamsh must, therefore, have included the basement storey, which, although begun by Aibeg, was most probably completed by himself. In this state the Minar must have remained until the reign of Firuz Tughlak, when, having been struck by lightning, it was repaired by that Emperor in A. H. 770, or A. D. 1368. The nature and extent of his repairs may, I think, be gathered from the inscriptions, thus, the inscription of the fifth storey is placed over the doorway, and

* The Emperor Firuz Shah, who repaired the pillar, calls it "the *Minâra* of Muiz ud din Sam"—Dowson's edition of Sir H. M. Elliot's *Historians*, III, 383

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the *Alai Darwāza*, or “Gate of Ala-uddin;” but this appellation is not known to the people. The age of the building is, however, quite certain, as the name of Ala-uddin is several times repeated in the Arabic inscriptions over three of the entrances, with the addition of his well known title of *Sikandar Sanī*, and the date of A. H. 710 or A. D. 1310. This date had already been anticipated, from the style of the building, by Mr. Fergusson, who considered the gateway as at least a century more modern than the tomb of Altamsh. The building is a square of $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet inside, and $56\frac{1}{2}$ feet outside, the walls being 11 feet thick. On each side there is a lofty doorway, with a pointed horse-shoe arch; the outer edge of the arch being fretted, and the underside panelled. The corners of the square are cut off by bold niches, the head of each niche being formed by a series of five pointed horse-shoe arches, lessening in size as they retire towards the angle. The effect of this arrangement is massive and beautiful, and justly merits the praise which Mr. Fergusson* had bestowed upon it, as “more simply elegant than any other Indian example with which he was acquainted.” The interior walls are decorated with a chequered pattern of singular beauty. In each corner there are two windows of the same shape and style as the doorways, but only one-third of their size. These are closed by massive screens of marble lattice-work. The exterior walls are panelled and inlaid with broad bands of white marble, the effect of which is certainly pleasing. The walls are crowned by a battlemented parapet and surmounted by a hemispherical dome. For the exterior view of the building this dome is, perhaps, too low, but the interior view is perfect, and, taken altogether, I consider that the gateway of Ala-uddin is the most *beautiful* specimen of Pathān architecture that I have seen.

The unfinished Minar of Ala-uddin stands due north from the Kutb Minar at a distance of 425 feet. This massive pillar as it stands at present is built wholly of the rough shapeless grey stone of the country, and the surface is so uneven that there can be no doubt it was the Architect's intention either to have faced it with red stone, or to have covered it with plaster. The Minar stands upon a plinth $4\frac{1}{2}$

* Hand-book of Architecture, I, 433

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built a *new* city. Syad Ahmad repeats the same story, adding that the materials of the old fort and palace of *Siri* were used in the construction of the new fort of *Shir-Shah-Kot*. From these accounts it is quite certain that *Siri* cannot be identified with the citadel that surrounds the Kutb Minar, for the walls of *Siri* were pulled down and the materials removed by Shir Shah, while the walls of the Kutb Minar Citadel are still standing. And, further, it seems almost certain that Shâhpur must be *Siri*, because of its vicinity to the new site of Shir Shah's fort, for it is hardly possible to believe that the King would have brought his building stones from the Kutb Minar, a distance of seven miles, when he could have obtained them from Shâhpur, which is only half the distance. That he did obtain his materials from the latter place, and not from the former, may be regarded as almost certain, for the very sufficient reason that the walls of Shâhpur have actually been removed, while those of the Kutb Citadel are still standing.

The only evidence in favour of the identification of *Siri* with the Kutb Citadel is the fact which Ferishta records, that the citadel of old Delhi was re-built by Ala-uddin, and the existence near the Kutb Minar of the remains of an old Palace, which still bears this King's name*. As the historian does not mention the new city of *Siri*, it would seem to have been inferred that the *re-building* of the citadel of old Delhi was only a perverted account of the founding of the new city of *Siri*. I see no reason, however, why Ferishta's statement should not be accepted exactly as it stands, for, on summing up the works of Ala-uddin, he records† that, during his reign, "*Palaces, Mosques, Universities, Baths, Mansolea, Forts, and all kinds of public and private buildings seemed to rise as if by magic.*" As from this account it would appear that Ala-uddin built more than one fort, and founded more than one palace, I see no difficulty in assigning to him the building of the palace near the Kutb Minar, and the re-building of the citadel of old Delhi, as well as the founding of the new city of *Siri* and its celebrated Palace of *Kasr-Hazâr-sutûn*, or "The Thousand Pillars." Much stress has been laid upon another statement made by Ferishta regarding the meeting

* According to Lieutenant Burgess' Map of the Ruins of Delhi

† Burgess' translation, I, 355

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3rd.—In A. H. 697, when Kutlugh Khwaja advanced against Delhi, great anxiety prevailed because the old fortifications had not been kept in repair. The people crowded into the city; but “the Sultan marched *out of Delhi*, with great display and pitched his tent in Siri.*

4th.—On a second invasion of the Moguls “the Sultan again *left the city* and encamped at Siri, where the superior numbers and strength of the enemy compelled him to entrench his camp.”†

5th.—After this, says Barni, he “built a palace at Siri. He took up his residence there, and made it his capital, so that it became a flourishing place. He ordered the *fort of Delhi* to be repaired” Amir Khusru‡ also mentions the building of the *new* fort of Delhi, and the repairs of the old one From Abul Fazl we learn that “Sultan Ala-uddin built another city and a new fort which they called Siri.”§

6th —Ibn Batuta|| says, “[Dâr ul Khilâfat Siri was a totally separate and detached town, situated at such a distance from old Delhi as to necessitate the construction of the walls of Jahân-panâh, to bring them within a defensive circle; and that the Hauz-i-khâs intervened, in an indirect line, between the two localities” Ibn Batuta was one of the Magistrates of Delhi about 30 years after Alau-ddin’s death; and the Hauz-i-Khâs still exists to the west of the direct road between Shâhpur and Kila Rai Pithora, that is, between Siri and old Delhi.

7th —Barni¶ states that the fort of Siri was *finished* during the life-time of Ala-uddin, and from Amir Khusiû** we learn that Mubarâk “ordered the completion of the fort and city of Delhi begun by his father (Ala-uddin), that is, Lâlkot, and Kila Rai Pithora, which the father had ordered to be repaired”

* Barni in Elliot, III, 166

† Barni in Elliot, III, 190

‡ Elliot, III, 70

§ Thomas' Chronicles of Pathân Kings, p 285, note.

|| French translation, Tom, III., 146 155, quoted by Thomas

¶ Elliot III, 200

** Elliot, III, 561

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by two feet two inches and one foot ten inches in breadth and thickness, and must have weighed rather more than six tons. The short faces to the west, north, and east, are protected by a deep ditch, and the long face to the south by a large sheet of water, which is held up by an embankment at the south-east corner. On this side the rock is scarped, and above it the main walls rise to a mean height of 40 feet, with a parapet of seven feet, behind which rises another wall of 15 feet, the whole height above the low ground being upwards of 90 feet. In the south-west angle is the citadel, which occupies about one-sixth of the area of the fort, and contains the ruins of an extensive palace. The ramparts are raised, as usual, on a line of domed-rooms, which rarely communicate with each other, and which, no doubt, formed the quarters of the troops that garrisoned the fort. The walls slope rapidly inwards, even as much as those of Egyptian buildings. The rampart walls are pierced with loop-holes, which serve also to give light and air to the soldiers' quarters. The parapets are pierced with low sloping loop-holes, which command the foot of the wall, and are crowned with a line of rude battlements of solid stone, which are also provided with loop-holes. The walls are built of large plainly dressed stones, and there is no ornament of any kind. But the vast size, the great strength, and the visible solidity of the whole give to Tughlakabad an air of stern and massive grandeur that is both striking and impressive.

The Fort of Tughlakabad has 13 gates, and there are three inner gates to the citadel. It contains seven tanks for water, besides the ruins of several large buildings, as the Jâma Masjid and the Birj Mandir. The upper part of the fort is full of ruined houses, but the lower part appears as if it had never been fully inhabited. Syad Ahmad states that the fort was commenced in A. D. 1321 and finished in 1323, or in the short period of two years. It is admitted by all that the work was completed by Tughlak himself; and as his reign lasted for only four years, from 1321 to 1325, the building of the fort must have been pushed forward with great vigour.

The fine Tomb of Tughlak Shah was built by his son Muhammad, who is not without suspicion of having caused his father's death. In A. D. 1304, during the reign of Ala-uddin, a second army of 4,000 Mogul horse burst into

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will never return to Delhi." When the Emperor left Bengal on his return to the capital the Saint was reminded of his prophecy, to which he replied "Delhi is far off (*Dihli dur ast*, or *Dihli dur hai*). As the Emperor approached nearer and nearer, he made the same remark; and even when he had reached Afghânpur within four miles of Tughlakabad, he repeated his former words "Delhi is far off,"—Tughlak was killed at Afghânpur, and the words of the holy man became a proverb, which is still in common use. Nizam-uddin died a few years afterwards, and his tomb was erected at the expense of Muhammad, out of gratitude, as the people say, for his assistance in placing him on the throne.

I have referred to this earlier tomb of Tughlak, which still exists in the fort of Multân, as it is the oldest building that I have seen with the rapidly sloping walls, which form the most prominent feature of the Delhi tomb. The Rokn-i-âlam, however, is octagonal, with small towers at the angles, and is, besides, a much larger building, the inside diameter being 56 feet, and the outer diameter 76 feet. But the Multân tomb is built entirely of brick, while the Delhi tomb is built throughout of stone, and is ornamented with white marble.

The tomb of Tughlak Shah is situated outside the southern wall of Tughlakabad, in the midst of the artificial lake already described, and is surrounded by a pentagonal out-work, which is connected with the fortress by a causeway 600 feet in length, supported on 27 arches. The stern beauty and massive strength of this tomb have justly elicited the following warm praises of Mr. Fergusson.* "The sloping walls and almost Egyptian solidity of this Mausoleum, combined with the bold and massive towers of the fortification that surround it, form a picture of a warrior's tomb unrivalled anywhere." In this praise I heartily concur, with only one reservation in favour of the situation of the Multân tomb, which, besides being both larger and loftier, is placed on the very top of the fort close to the northern wall.

In plan the Delhi tomb is a square of $38\frac{1}{2}$ feet interior and $61\frac{1}{2}$ feet exterior dimensions. The outer walls are $38\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height to the top of the battlement, with a slope of

* Hand book of Architecture, I.—434.

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son Juna-Khan, who took the name of Muhammad when he ascended the throne. This Prince was the most accomplished of all the Pathân Sovereigns of India, but he was also the most inhumanly cruel and most madly tyrannical of them all. His cruelties were witnessed by his cousin and successor Firuz Tughlak, who adopted one of the most curious expedients which the mind of man has ever conceived for obtaining the pardon of his tyrannical predecessor. I quote the words of Firuz himself, as given by Ferishta,* from the inscriptions on the Great Mosque of Firuzabad. "I have also taken pains to discover the surviving relations of all persons who suffered from the wrath of my late Lord and Master *Muhammad Tughlak*, and, having pensioned and provided for them, have caused them to grant their full pardon and forgiveness to that Prince in the presence of the holy and learned men of this age, whose signatures and seals, as witnesses, are affixed to the documents, the whole of which, as far as lay in my power, have been procured and put into a box, and deposited in the vault in which Muhammad Tughlak is entombed"† This strange device of placing the vouchers in the tomb ready for the dead man's hand to pick up at the last day is as bold as it is original. It would be interesting to read some of these documents, which are, in all probability, still quite safe, as all the tombs appear to be in the most perfect order.

Another work attributed to Muhammad Tughlak is the small detached fort of *Adilabad* or *Muhammadabad*, near the south-east corner of Tughlakabad, with which it was once connected by a double wall along the causeway which crosses the intervening low ground. This fort is built in the same style as Tughlakabad, but it is a very small place, as the exterior line of works is not more than half a mile in circuit.

But the greatest work of Muhammad Tughlak was the fortification of the extensive suburbs of Delhi, lying between

* Briggs, I—464

† The same statement is made by Firuz in his autobiography—"Under the guidance of the Almighty, I arranged that the heirs of those persons who had been executed in the reign of my late lord and patron Sultan Muhammad Shah, and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand, or foot, should be reconciled to the late Sultan, and be appeased with gifts, so that they executed deeds declaring their satisfaction, duly attested by witnesses. These deeds were put into a chest, which was placed in the *Dâr-ul-amân* at the head of the tomb of the late Sultan in the hope that God, in His great clemency, would show mercy to my late friend and patron, and make those persons feel reconciled to him—See Elliot's *Muhammadian Historians* III, 385—*Futûhât-i Firûz Shâh*

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of real public utility. Perhaps the most useful of these works was the canal which he drew from the west bank of the Jumna to supply his new Capital of Firuzabad with water. This canal, having become choked from neglect, was cleared out by Ali Mardân Khan in the reign of Shahjâhân to furnish the Mogul's new Capital with water. Having again become choked, it was once more cleared out and improved by the British Government, and it is still flowing through modern Delhi under the name of the Western Jumna Canal.

But the most extensive work of Firuz was the building of the new city of *Firuzabad*, with its two palaces of *Kushak Firuzabad* and *Kushak Shikâr*. Major Lewis has published much interesting information regarding this new city from the Persian of *Shams-i-Sirâj Afif*, who was contemporary with the latter end of this Emperor's reign. The new city was begun in the year A. H. 755, or A. D. 1354. It extended from the fort of Indrpat to the *Kushak Shikâr*, or hunting palace, a length of five *kos*. Now the distance from old Delhi is said to be also five *kos*, which fixes the position of the Kushak Shikâr approximately on the low range of hills to the north-west of the modern Shahjahânâbâd. But the exact position is absolutely determined by the mention that the second stone pillar from Mirat was erected within the precincts of the palace, as the stone pillar is now lying in five pieces on the top of the hill close to Hindu Rao's house. *Shams-i-Sirâj* adds that the whole distance from Indrpat to the Kushak Shikâr was occupied by stone-houses, mosques, and bazars, but as the limits noted above include the whole of the modern Shahjahânâbâd, it is very improbable that the entire space was actually occupied. It is certain, however, that some considerable portion of the site of Shahjahânâbâd was well populated as the *Kâla Masjid*, which was built in Firuz's reign, is situated at some distance within the Turkomân Gate of the present city. But even if thinly inhabited, the population of Firuzabad could not have been less than that of Shahjahânâbâd, as it was more than double its size. The number of inhabitants would, therefore, have been about 150,000; and if we add 100,000 more for the population of old Delhi, the total number of inhabitants in the Indian Metropolis during the reign of Firuz Shah must have amounted to one quarter of a million.

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is covered by a small dome, the central dome being somewhat higher than the others. The walls are six feet thick, with three openings at each end, closed by massive red stone lattice-work. In front of the building there is a small open quadrangle, of the same dimensions as the interior of the Mosque, and on three sides of the quadrangle there are cloisters which are continued round the Mosque itself. The whole is enclosed by an outer wall 5 feet thick, which forms an oblong block of building 110 feet in length by 120 feet in breadth. On the outside the building consists of two storeys, the middle of the lower storey being a solid mass, which forms the floor of the Masjid. The four faces of the lower storey have two rows of small rooms, which are now rented to petty shop-keepers. This is the invariable practice at present, and was, no doubt, the same in the time of Firuz, as the money thus obtained always formed the principal revenue, and eventually became the only income of the attendants of a Mosque. The lower storey is 28 feet in height, and the upper storey to the top of the battlements is 38 feet, making a total height of 66 feet. The four angles are supported by small round towers with sloping walls as plain and bare as the rest of the building. The entrance to the upper storey is reached by a steep flight of steps, at the head of which, but outside the general mass of building, is a domed ante-room of small dimensions. The walls of the upper storey are pierced with a row of arched openings which correspond in number and size with the doorways of the lower storey. These were once filled with bold strong lattice-work, but many of them have been built up. The plain but massive appearance of the walls is highly suggestive of strength and solidity, which is fully borne out by the excellent state of preservation of this old building after a lapse of nearly five centuries.

The small fort of *Indrpat*, or *Purána Kīlah*, was repaired by the Emperor Humáyūn in A. H. 940, or A. D. 1533, and re-named by him *Din-panāh*; but the new name is never used, except by pedantic or bigotted Muhammadans. Within a few years, or about A. D. 1540 the works were much strengthened by *Shir Shah*, who made *Indrpat* the Citadel of his new city under the name of *Shirgarh*, by which it is now very generally known, although *Purána Kīlah*, or "the old Fort," is perhaps the most common appellation. The lofty massive towers and solid walls of this fort were strengthened by a ditch which once communicated with the Jumna. *Shirgarh* is,

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must therefore have been somewhere between the *Bara Pul* and Humâyun's tomb. The east wall of the city is determined by the line of the high bank of the Jumna, which formerly ran due south from Firuz Shah's Kotla towards Humâyun's tomb. On the west the boundary line of the city can be traced along the bank of a torrent bed, which runs southward from the Ajmer Gate of Shahjahânâbâd, and parallel to the old course of the Jumna, at a distance of rather more than 1 mile. The whole circuit of the city walls was therefore close upon 9 miles, or nearly double that of the modern Shahjahânâbâd.

The small fort of *Salimgarh* was built by *Salim Shah*, the son of Shîr Shah, in A. H. 953, or A. D. 1546. It is situated at the north end of Shahjahân's Palace, after the building of which it was used only as a state prison. It is not quite one quarter of a mile in length, and the whole circuit of its walls is only of three quarters of a mile. It stands on an island close to the west bank of the river, and with its loftly towers and massive walls, forms a most picturesque object from the opposite side of the Jumna. A bridge of five arches was built in front of the South Gate by Jahangir, after whom the name of the place was changed to *Nurgarh* according to Syad Ahmad. But the old name of *Salimgarh* has prevailed, and is the only one that I have ever heard used by the people, either educated or uneducated.

The tomb of Humâyun is too well known to need any detailed description, unless illustrated by pictorial representations, which will more appropriately accompany my proposed account of Mogul architecture. It was built after the Emperor's death in A. H. 962, or A. D. 1554, by his widow *Haji Begam*. It is therefore the earliest specimen of the architecture of the Mogul dynasty. The exterior form of the main body of the tomb is a square with the corners cut off, on an octagon with four long and four short faces, and each of the short faces forms one side of the four octagonal corner towers. The dome is built entirely of white marble, the rest of the building being of red sand-stone, with inlaid ornaments of white marble. In this tomb we first see towers attached to the four angles of the main building. It is true that these towers are very stout and massive, but they form an important innovation in the Muhammadan architecture of Northern India, which was gradually improved and developed, until it culminated in the graceful Minars of

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On the east side of the Kesariya stupa a gallery has been excavated right to the centre of the building. This is said to have been done upwards of 10 years ago by one Kāsi Nāth Babu, the servant of a Colonel Sāheb. As the name of 'Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Madras Engineers, 1814,' is inscribed on the Bakhra Pillar. I think it probable that the excavation was made by his orders. No discovery was made and if I am right in my identification of this stupa with that which was erected on the spot where Buddha announced his previous existence as a Chakravartti Raja, it is almost certain that it would not have been the depository of relics or of other objects. The monument was in fact, only a memorial stupa erected to perpetuate the fame of one of Buddha's acts and not a sepulchral stupa for the reception of relics.

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of the fortress. These new works added considerably to the strength of the fortifications, as we found, to our cost, in the mutiny of 1857. The two principal streets, forming nearly a right angle, ran from the Lahor and Delhi Gates of the Citadel to the Lahor and Delhi Gates of the city. The two principal buildings in the city are the *Jāma Masjid* and the *Zinat Masjid*. The former was built by Shahjāhān in A. D. 1648, and is one of the largest and finest Mosques in India. The later was built by *Zinat-un-nissa*, the daughter of Aurangzib, in A. D. 1710, and is a favorable specimen of the later style of Mogul architecture. Both of these buildings will be described more fully hereafter in my proposed historical account of the Muhammadan architecture of Northern India.

The Citadel of Shahjāhānābād, which contained the Emperor's palace, and the two celebrated open halls or courts called the *Dewān-i-ām* and the *Dewān-i-khās*, is too well known to require any description in this place; but it will be duly considered hereafter in my account of the architecture of Shahjāhān's reign. I will, therefore, confine my remarks at present to the short account of the two life-size statues of elephants and their riders that have lately been discovered, and which, as we learn from Thevenot and Bernier, once stood outside the Delhi Gate of the Citadel.

The earliest notice is that by Bernier in his description of Delhi, written on 1st July 1663: "I find nothing remarkable at the entry (of the palace), but two great elephants of stone, which are on the two sides of one of the gates. Upon one of them is the statue of *Jamel*, the famous Raja of Chitor, and upon the other that of Patta, his brother. These are those two gallant men that, together with their mother, who was yet braver than they, cut out so much work for *Eckbar*, and who in the sieges of towns, which they maintained against him, gave such extraordinary proofs of their generosity, that at length they would rather be killed in the out-falls with their mother than submit: and for this gallantry it is that even their enemies thought them worthy to have these statues erected for them. These two great elephants, together with the two resolute men sitting on them, do, at the first entry into this fortress, make an impression of I know not what greatness and awful terror." *Thevenot*, who was at Delhi in 1667, corroborates *Bernier's* account of

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of the siege had now to be re-commenced, when a lucky shot deprived the Rajputs of their leader "Other mines," says Ferishta,* "were directed to be constructed, and as the works were in progress, the King while in the batteries observed *Jaymal*, the Governor of the place, superintending the repairs of the breaches, and giving his orders by torch-light. Akbar, seizing a matchlock from one of his attendants, fired at him, and was so fortunate as to lodge the ball in Jaymal's forehead. The spirit of the besieged fell with their Governor, and, in their despair, they performed the ceremony of the *Johar*, and putting their wives and children to death, burned them with the corpse of their Chief on a funeral pile" Akbar then entered the fort, and after a slight opposition, the capital of the Sisodiyas, for the third time, was in the hands of the Musalmâns.

It remains now to consider the value of the evidence recorded in the above statements. In the first place, then, with respect to the statues, I feel quite satisfied with the testimony of Bernier. As the physician and companion of *Dânishmand Khan*, a highly respectable nobleman of Aurangzib's Court, he was most in the favorable position for obtaining accurate information regarding the history of Akbar and his successors. I accept, therefore, without any hesitation, the account of Bernier that the statues were those of *Jaymal* and *Patta*, the two Rajput heroes who defended Chitor against Akbar. Both statues as I have already pointed out, are those of Hindus, as their dresses open over the right breast. Admitting this much, I am likewise prepared to allow that the two statues must have been made by Akbar, as is also stated by Bernier. But, as the building of Shahjahânâbâd was not begun until seventy years after the siege of Chitor, it is absolutely certain that Akbar could not have erected the statues in front of the gate of the Delhi Palace, where they were seen by Bernier and Thevenot. What, then, was their original site? This I believe to have been the fort of Agra in front of the river gate.

In his account of the city of Agra, Abul Fazl,† the Minister of Akbar, states that "His Majesty has erected a fort "of red stone, the like of which no traveller has ever beheld "

* Briggs, II—231

† *Am Akbari*, II—36.

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but as our travellers had no call to go there, they probably never went. Both of them came to Agra from Surat, and approached the fort on the south side; and Finch left Agra by the Delhi Road *viâ* Mathura, without crossing the river, while Hawkins returned to Surat. Had Finch seen the statues, I feel satisfied that he would have mentioned them, as he takes notice of the elephant statue in front of the *Ilāthi Paur*, or "Elephant Gate," of the Gwalior Fort.

With regard to Akbar's object in setting up these statues, I differ altogether from Bernier and Tod. Speaking of the heroes *Jaymal* and *Patta*, the former says that "even their enemies thought them worthy to have these statues erected to them." This is somewhat amplified by Tod, who says that Akbar "evinced an exalted sense, not only of the value of his conquest, but of the merits of his foes in erecting statues to the names of Jaymal and Patta." Here we see that both Bernier and Tod were of opinion that these statues were erected by Akbar in honour of his enemies, the two Rajput heroes of Chitor. But when we remember that Akbar prided himself on having killed Jaymal with his own hand; that he gave the name of *Durust Andāz*, or "true-shooter," to his matchlock, and that both his Minister Abul Fazl and his son Jahangir make much boasting of the Emperor's lucky shot, the more natural conclusion is that the statues were erected in honour of Akbar himself. Had they been set up in honour of his gallant foes, the fact would most assuredly have been commemorated in their loudest voice by the Rajput bards; but so far was this from being the case, that Colonel Tod was entirely indebted to Bernier for his knowledge of their existence.

Again, when I remember that the same Akbar assumed the title of *Ghāzi* (or warrior for the faith) after putting to death with his own hand in cold blood his able, gallant, and wounded antagonist *Hemu*, I cannot believe that he would afterwards erect statues in honour of any infidel Hindus, however noble in blood, or gallant in the field. When I recollect, also, the position that the statues occupied, one on each side of the eastern gateway of the Agra fort, I cannot help feeling that they stood, like the two horsemen at the gate of the Horse Guards in London, as sentinels at the gate of their imperial foe, to do honour to their conqueror. Admitting his view to be correct, I can understand why

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Fatehpur—Sikri, Thanesar, and Kasûr. This notorious Muhammadan name is changed by Mrs Mackenzie as follows : “ the humble, the transitory Jahânârâ was a disciple of the holy men of *Christ*, supposed to be Roman Priests ”* Jahânârâ was the builder of the Jâma Masjid at Agra, and has always been considered a most devout follower of Muhammad. Her name is still held in much veneration in Delhi for her numerous charities.

II. MATHURA.

In the Brahmanical city of Mathura, in A. D 634, the temples of the gods were reckoned by Hwen Thsang at five only, while the Buddhist monasteries amounted to 20, with 2,000 resident monks. The number of *Stupas* and other Buddhist monuments was also very great, there being no less than seven towers, containing relics of the principal disciples of Buddha. The King and his ministers were zealous Buddhists, and the three great fasts of the year were celebrated with much pomp and ceremony, at which times the people flocked eagerly to make their offerings to the holy *Stupas* containing the relics of Buddha's disciples. Each of them, says Hwen Thsang, paid a special visit to the statue of the *Bodhistawa* whom he regarded as the founder of his own school. Thus the followers of the *Abidharma*, or transcendental doctrines made their offerings to *Sâriputra*; they who practised *Samâdhi* or meditation, to *Mudgalaputra*; the followers of the *Sautrântikas*, or aphorisms, to *Purva Martreya Putra*; they who adhered to the *Vinaya*, or discipline, to *Upâli*; the *Bhikshunis* or Nuns, to Ananta; the *Anupâsampannas*, or novices, to *Râhula* (the son of *Buddha*); and they who studied the *Mahâyâna*, or “ Greater means of advancement,” to the great Bodhisatwa *Manju Sri* or *Avalokiteswara*, who plays such a conspicuous part in later Buddhism. But notwithstanding this apparently flourishing condition of Buddhism, it is certain that the zeal of the people of Mathura must have lessened considerably since A. D 400, when Fa Hian reckoned the body of monks in

* Delhi, the city of the Great Mogul, 2nd edition, p 51. I presume that this curious mistake is due to the English printer's correction of Sn W Sleeman's translation, Rambles, II, 270, “ where *Christ* is an evident misprint for *Chist*, as Sleeman was a good scholar. It is curious that the same insertion of the letter *i* is made in this name in the travels of another lady, “ Tour in Upper Provinces of Hindustan by A. D,” where she speaks, or is made to speak by the English compositor, of “ the Mausoleum of *Christic* at Futteypoor Sicra ”

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east of the city. Cells were formed in the sides of the mound, which was approached through a hollow, and in the midst was a *Stupa* containing the nails of Buddha. This monastery is said to have been built by the holy *Upagupta*, who, as we learn from one of the legends of *Pātali Putra*, was a contemporary of Asoka. The nails and beard of the holy man were still preserved.

On another mound to the north of this monastery, there was a cave containing a stone chamber, 20 feet high and 30 feet long, which was full of bamboo spikes only four inches in length. These spikes represented the number of husbands and their wives who had been converted by *Upagupta*.

At 21 or 25 *li*, or just four miles to the south-east of the stone chamber, there was a large dry tank, with a *Stupa* on its bank, which marked the spot where Buddha was said to have taken exercise. On this spot also, according to the local legends, a monkey had offered honey to Buddha, which the teacher graciously accepted and directed that it should be mixed with water and given to the monks. The glad monkey made a wild bound, and fell into the tank and died; but owing to the powerful influence of his good act, he became a man in his next birth.

In a forest at a short distance to the north of the tank there was another holy spot, where the four previous Buddhas were said to have taken exercise, and all round it there were numerous *Stupas*, which marked the places where no less than 1,250 *arhats*, or holy men, including *Sāriputra*, *Mudgalaputra*, and others, used to sit in meditation. But besides these, there were several other *Stupas* on the spots where Buddha at different times had explained the law.

The two principal sites described by Hwen Thsang can, I think, be fixed with tolerable certainty, namely, that of the famous *Upagupta* monastery, and that of the monkey's offering. The first is said to be at 5 or 6 *li*, or just one mile, to the east of the city, but as an eastern direction would take us to the low ground, on the opposite bank of the Jumna, where no ruins now exist, I feel quite satisfied that we should read *west* instead of *east*. This change is rendered almost certain by the discovery of numerous Buddhist remains inside the great square of the *Kātra*, which is just one mile to the westward of the old fort of Mathura. But it is

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Upādhya (the *Upādhya* or teacher of *Pinaya*) as described by Hwen Thsang. Both of these mounds are to the north of the city. To the south there are seven mounds known as the *Sat Tila* which are severally named as follows.—1, *Dhūla-Ida*, 2, *Sapt Rishi*; 3, *Bot*, or *But, Tila*, 4, *Narad*; 5, *Kāś*, 6, *Kāl-jug*; 7, *Nāgakesha*.⁷ Now, it is remarkable that the number of great *Stupas* of the disciples of Buddha was also seven; but unfortunately as nothing is recorded regarding their relative positions, we are left entirely to conjecture whether these mounds may possibly represent the seven famous *Stupas* of Buddha's principal disciples. I think that it would be worth while to make some excavations in all of these seven mounds to the south, as well as in the two northern mounds which still bear Buddhistical names.

The *Katra* mound has been successively occupied by Buddhists, Brahmans, and Musalmāns. The *Katra*, or market-place, is an oblong enclosure like a *Sarāi*, 804 feet in length by 653 feet in breadth. In the midst of this square stands the *Jāma Masjid*, on a large mound from 25 to 30 feet in height. The mosque is 172 feet long and 66 feet broad, with a raised terrace in front of the same length, but with a breadth of 86 feet, the whole being 30 feet in height above the ground. About 5 feet lower, there is another terrace 286 feet in length by 268 feet in breadth, on the eastern edge of which stands the mosque. There is no inscription on the building, but the people ascribe it to Aurungzib, who is said to have pulled down the great Hindu temple of *Kesava Deva*, or *Keso Ray*, that formerly stood on this high mound, a most noble position, which commands a fine view of the whole city. Curiously enough I have been able to verify this charge against Aurungzib by means of some inscriptions on the pavement slabs which were recorded by Hindu pilgrims to the shrine of Kesava Ray. In relaying the pavement, the Muhammadan architect was obliged to cut many of the slabs to make them fit into their new places. This is proved by several of the slabs bearing incomplete portions of Nāgarī inscriptions of a late date. One slab has

⁷ During a short visit in the present year, 1871, I could not find a single person who knew the *Anand Tila*. The *Dhūla Tila* is also an invention of my informant as it is evidently intended for *Dhūla tila*, or the "mound of dust," that is, the refuse of a brick kiln, of which the mound in question is actually composed.

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weighed 98,300 *mishkals*, or 1,120 lbs., and was decorated with a sapphire weighing 300 *mishkals*, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. But, "besides these images, there were above one hundred idols of silver, which loaded as many camels." Altogether the value of the idols carried off by Mahmud cannot have been less than three millions of rupees, or £300,000.

The date of Mahmud's invasion was A. D. 1017, or somewhat less than 400 years after the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who in A. D. 634 found only five Brahmanical temples in Mathura. It is during these four centuries, therefore, that we must place, not only the decline and fall of Buddhism, but its total disappearance from this great city, in which it once possessed twenty large monasteries, besides many splendid monuments of its most famous teachers. Of the circumstances which attended the downfall of Buddhism we know almost nothing; but as in the present case we find the remains of a magnificent Brahmanical temple occupying the very site of what must once have been a large Buddhist establishment, we may infer with tolerable certainty that the votaries of *Sakya Muni* were expelled by force, and that their buildings were overthrown to furnish materials for those of their Brahmanical rivals; and now these in their turn have been thrown down by the Musalmâns.

I made the first discovery of Buddhist remains at the temple of *Kesava Ray* in January 1853, when, after a long search, I found a broken pillar of a Buddhist railing sculptured with the figure of *Mâyâ Devi* standing under the *sâl* tree.* At the same time I found the capitals of two large round pillars of an early date, which are most probably Buddhist, along with a fragment of an inscription of the Gupta dynasty, containing the well known genealogy from Gupta, the founder, down to Samudra Gupta, where the stone is broken off. During the present year I have discovered the peculiarly curved architrave of a Buddhist gateway, which is richly sculptured on both sides with buildings, figures, and trees, including a representation of a gateway itself. I found also a very perfect standing figure of Buddha, the Teacher, which had lately been discovered in clearing out a well at the north-west corner of the temple. The figure is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with the left hand grasping the drapery, and the right hand

* Now in the Lahor Museum.

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building of the monastery in the latter half of the century immediately preceding the Christian era, at which period the three Indo-Scythian princes, *Huvishka* and his brothers, *Kanishka* and *Jushka*, ruled over Kabul, Kashmir, and the Punjab. The bases of about 30 pillars belonging to this monastery have now been discovered, of which no less than 15 are inscribed with the names of the donors who presented the columns to the monastery. But as one of these gifts consisted of six pillars, a second of 25, and a third of 26 pillars, there still remains 40 columns to be discovered, which will bring up the total number to 70. The diameter of the circular shafts of these pillars varies from 17 to 18 inches, and the side of the square base $23\frac{1}{2}$ to 24 inches. They are all very coarsely worked, the rough marks of the chisel never having been smoothed away.

The name of the second monastery, *Kunda-Suka*, refers, I believe, to the tank which lies immediately to the westward of the mound. *Kunda-Suka* means the "dry tank," and as the position of the tank agrees with that assigned by Hwen Thsang to the 'dry tank' in which the monkey was killed, I think there can be no doubt of the accuracy of my identification.

The discoveries already made in the Jail mound, amongst the ruins of the *Huvishka* and *Kunda-Suka* monasteries, have been very interesting on account of their variety, as they comprise statues of all sizes, bas-reliefs, pillars, Buddhist railings, votive *Stupas*, stone umbrellas, and many other objects peculiar to Buddhism, of a date as early as the first century of the Christian era.* Amongst the broken statues there is the left hand of a colossal figure of Buddha, the Teacher, which measures exactly one foot across the palm. The statue itself, therefore, could not have been less than from 20 to 24 feet in height, and with its pedestal, halo, and umbrella canopy it must have been fully 30 feet in height. Stone statues of this great size are so extremely difficult to move, that they can be very rarely made. It is true that some of the Jain statues of Gwahor are larger, such as the standing colossus in the *Urwāhi* of the fort, which is 57 feet

* Several inscriptions have since been discovered which belong to the first century before Christ. The earliest is of the *Satrap Saudāsa*, and the next of the Great King *Kanishka*, dated in the year 9

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DANCING GIRL



Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, March 1872

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that it represents a dancing girl, and that it once adorned one of the gateways of the great *Stupa* near the monastery of *Huvishka*."

Three statues of lions have also been discovered, but they are inferior both in design and in execution to most of the other sculptures. They are all of the same height, 3 feet, and are all in the same attitude, but two of them have the left foot advanced, while the third has the right foot brought forward. The attitudes are stiff, and the workmanship, especially of the legs, is hard, wiry, and unnatural. It is the fore-part only of the animal that is given, as if issuing out of the block of stone in rear, from which I infer that they must originally have occupied the two sides of some large gateway, such as we may suppose to have belonged to the great monastery of *Huvishka*.

The most numerous remains are the stone pillars of the Buddhist railings, of which at least three different sizes have been found. Those of the largest size are $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, with a section of $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 inches. When complete with base and coping, this railing would have been about 7 feet in height. The middle-sized pillars are 3 feet 8 inches high, with a section of 9 by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The railings formed of these pillars would have been $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. Those of the smallest size are $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet high, with a section of $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, which would have formed a railing of only 4 feet in height. Of this last size no more than six specimens have yet been found, but two of them are numbered in the ancient Gupta numerals as 118 and 129, so that many more of them still remain to be discovered. If we assume the number of these pillars to have been no more than 129 the length of railing which they formed would have been 144 feet, or with two entrances not less than 160 feet. This might have been disposed either as a square enclosure of 40 feet side, or as a circular enclosure of upwards of 50 feet diameter. The last would have been sufficient for the circular railing of a *Stupa* 40 feet in diameter.

No inscriptions or numbers have been found on any of the large sized pillars, but there can be no doubt that they must have formed parts of the surrounding railings either of

* The pedestal of this statue, which has since been discovered, shows that the figure was originally placed on the top of a small column

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Greek. The dress of the male figure also appears to be Greek. Colonel Stacy describes it as "a kerchief round the neck with a tie in front as worn by sailors," but as it widens so it approaches the shoulders, I presume that it must be the short cloak of the Greeks which was fastened in front in the very same manner as represented in this sculpture. Prinsep agrees with Stacy in considering the principal figure to be Silenus: "His portly carcass, drunken lassitude, and vine-wreathed forehead, stamp the individual, while the drapery of his attendants pronounces them at least to be foreign to India, whatever may be thought of Silenus's own costume, which is certainly highly orthodox and Brahmanical. If the sculptor were a Greek, his taste had been somewhat tainted by the Indian beau-ideal of female beauty. In other respects his proportions and attitudes are good, nay, superior to any specimen of pure Hindu sculpture we possess; and, considering the object of the group, to support a sacrificial vase (probably of the juice of the grape), it is excellent." Of the group on the back I have but little to say: the two female figures and one of the men are dressed in the same Greek costume as the figures of the other group, but the fourth figure, a male, is dressed in a long tunic, which is certainly not Greek, and cannot well be Indian. The religious Buddhist would have his right shoulder bare, and the layman would have the *dhota*, or waist-cloth. The Greek clad male figure may possibly be Silenus, but I am unable to offer even a conjecture as to the figure in the tunic.

The question now arises, how is the presence of this piece of Greek sculpture to be accounted for? Perhaps the most reasonable solution is to assume the presence of a small body of Bactrian Greek sculptors who would have found ready employment for their services amongst the wealthy Buddhists, just in the same way as goldsmiths and artillerymen afterwards found service with the Mogul Emperors. It must be remembered that Mathura is close to the great sand-stone quarries which for ages past have furnished materials for the sculptors and architects of Upper India. All the ancient statues that I have met with in Rohilkhund and Oudh are made of this stone, and there can be little doubt that the Buddhist custom of making gifts of statues and pillars to the various monasteries must have created such a steady demand for the sculptor's works as would have ensured the continuous employment of many skilled workmen. Many of the

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Kapurdagiri, Junagiri, Rohitâs, and Ganjam† In speaking of Firuz Shah's Pillar at Delhi, which we know was brought from the foot of the hills on the western bank of the Jumna near Khidrabad, I have already identified the district of Khâlsi with part of the ancient kingdom of Srughna, as described by Hwen Thsang. As my reasons for coming to this conclusion are based entirely upon the statements of the Chinese pilgrim, it is necessary that they should be given in detail.

On leaving *Sthâneswara* or *Thânesar*, Hwen Thsang records that he went 400 *li*, or 66 miles, to the eastward, to the kingdom of Su-lu-kin-na, or Srughna, which he describes as being bounded by the Ganges on the east, and by high mountains on the north, and as being watered by the Jumna, which ran through the midst of it. The capital, which was 20 *li*, or upwards of three miles, in circuit, was situated immediately on the west bank of the Jumna; and, although much ruined, its foundations were still standing. Amongst other monuments it possessed a *Stupa* of King Asoka. The direction given by Hwen Thsang is undoubtedly wrong, as the Jumna is not more than 24 miles distant from Thânesar towards the east. But the mention of the hills shows most clearly that the bearing should be north-east; and as the recorded distance of the Jumna at the foot of the hills agrees with the actual distance, the situation of the capital of Srughna must be looked for along the western bank of the Jumna, somewhere between Khâlsi and Khidrabad. At first I was inclined to fix the position of the capital in the immediate neighbourhood of the inscribed rock of Khâlsi, but I could neither find nor hear of any ruins in its vicinity, and the distance is besides too great, being 71 miles in a direct line, or about 80 miles by the road. If Hwen Thsang's distances is correct, the most probable position of the capital is *Paota*, on the right bank of the Jumna, which is 57 miles distant from *Thânesar* in a direct line, or about 65 miles by the road. I believe also that *Paota* is the very place from whence Firuz Shah removed the Delhi column, for the name of its original site is variously written as *Taopar*, or *Topara*, or *Taoparsuk*, any one of which by the mere shifting of the diacritical points might be read as *Paotar*. It is possible

† See Plate No II. for a map of North Western India, showing the position of Khâlsi.

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show that the inscribed block had formerly been covered over by some kind of canopy, or perhaps only by an umbrella, as the name imports. There are a number of squared stones lying about close to the rock, as well as several fragments of octagonal pillars and half pillars or pilasters, which are hollowed out or fluted on the shorter faces, after the common fashion of the pillars of Buddhist railings. There is also a large carved stone, 7 feet long, 1½ foot broad, and 1 foot in height, which from its upper mouldings I judged to have formed the entrance step to some kind of open porch in front of the inscription stone.

When found by Mr Forrest early in 1860 the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages; but on removing this black film the surface becomes nearly as white as marble. At first sight the inscription looks as if it was imperfect in many places, but this is owing to the engraver having purposely left all the cracked and rougher portions uninscribed. On comparing the different edicts with those of the *Kapurdagiri*, *Junagiri*, and *Dhauhi* versions, I find the Khâlsi text to be in a more perfect state than any one of them, and more specially in that part of the 13th edict which contains the names of the five Greek Kings,—Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander*. The Khâlsi text agrees with that Dhauhi in rejecting the use of the letter *r*, for which *l* is everywhere substituted. But the greatest variation is in the use of the palatal sibilant *s*, which has not been found in any other inscription of this early date. This letter occurs in the word *Pāsanda*, which, curiously enough, is spelt sometimes with one *s*, and sometimes with the other, even in the same edict. As the proper spelling of this word is *Pāshanda*, it seems almost certain that the people of India Proper did not possess the letter *sh* in the time of Asoka.

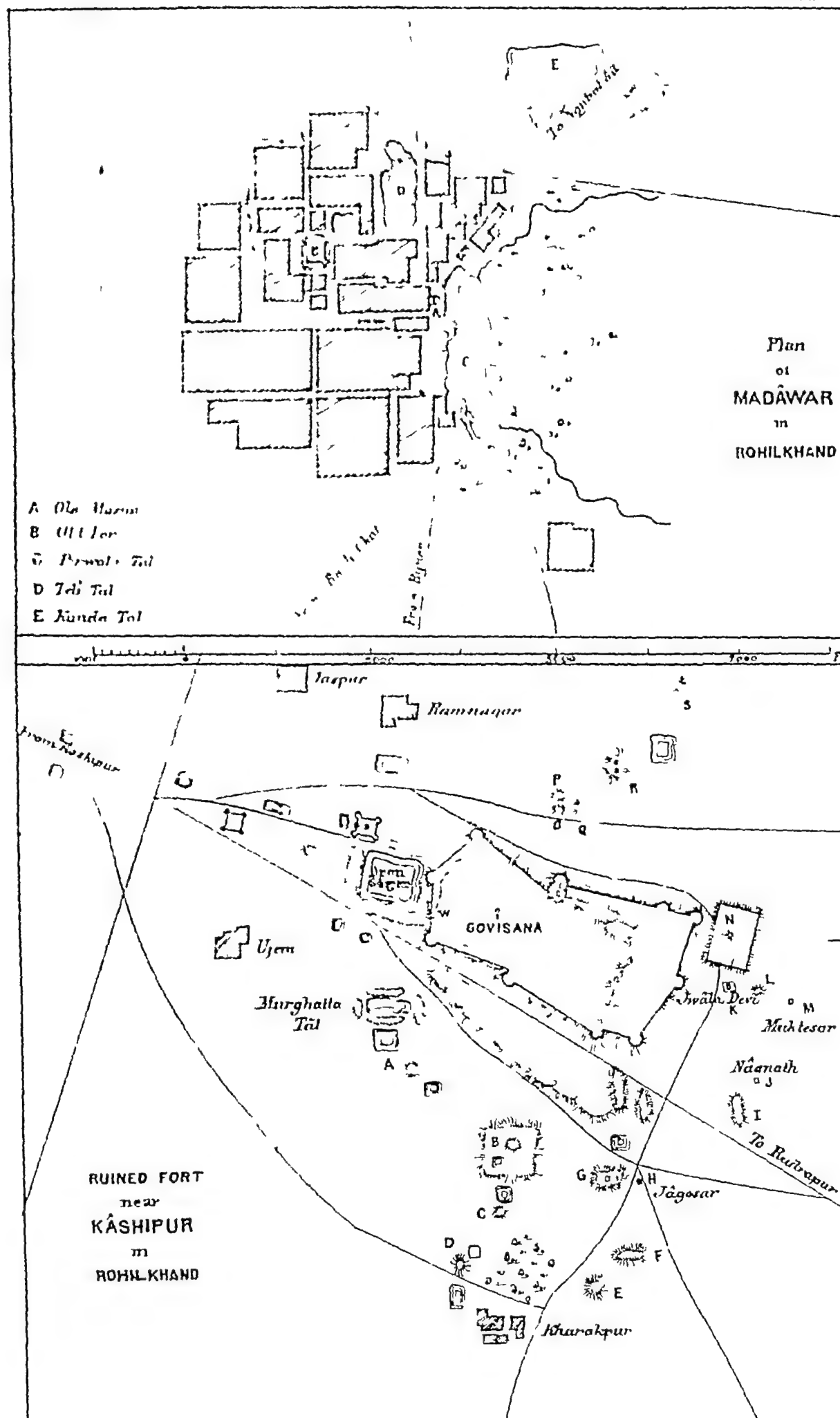
I made a complete impression of the whole of this important inscription. I also copied the whole of the inscription on the left side by eye, as well as most of the more obscure parts in the front inscription. I have since compared the entire text with those of the other rock tablets, and I am now engaged in making a reduced copy of this valuable record for early publication. I propose, however, first,

* See Plate No XLI for this portion of the Khâlsi inscription.

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city. To the north-east, distant about one mile from the fort, there is a large village, on another mound, called *Madaya*; and between the two lies a large tank called *Kānda Tāl*, surrounded by numerous small mounds which are said to be the remains of buildings. Originally these two places would appear to have formed one large town about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile in length by half a mile in breadth, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circuit. The *Ka-mungo* states that *Madāwar* formed part of the dominions of Pithora Raja, and that it possessed a large Hindu temple of stone, which was afterwards destroyed by one of the Ghorī Sultans, who built the present Jāma Masjid on its site, and with its materials. The stones of the mosque are squared blocks of soft grey sandstone, and as many of them exhibit cramp-holes on the outside, there can be no doubt that they must originally have belonged to some other building.

To the south-east of the town there is a large, deep, irregularly shaped piece of water called *Parwāl Tāl*. It is nearly half a mile in length, but not more than 300 feet broad in its widest part. It is filled in the rains by a small channel carrying the drainage of the country from the north-east, and its overflow falls into the *Mālma* River, about two miles distant. This pool is only part of a natural channel of drainage which has been deepened by the excavation of earth for the bricks of the town. But in spite of this evident origin of the *Madāwar* tank, it was gravely asserted by the Buddhists to have been produced by an earthquake which accompanied the death of a celebrated saint, named *Vimala Mitra*.

According to Hwen Thsang, *Madipur* was 20 *li*, or $3\frac{1}{3}$ miles, in circuit, which agrees very closely with what would appear to be the most probable size of the old town. The King was a *Sudra*, who cared nothing for Buddhism, but worshipped the *Devas*. There were 12 Buddhist monasteries containing about 800 monks, who were mostly attached to the school of the *Sarvāstivādas*, and there were also about 50 Brahmanical temples.* To the south of the town, at 4 or 5 *li*, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, there was a small monastery in which *Gunaprabha* was said to have composed 100 works; and at half a mile to the north of this there was a great monastery which was famous as the scene of *Sanghabhadra's* sudden

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 219

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has calumniated the *Mahā Yāna*, for which he has now fallen into everlasting hell." But this opinion of the holy man would appear to have been confined to the followers of the *Mahā Yāna*, for the brethren of *Vimala Mitra*, who were *Sarvāstivādas* or students of the lesser vehicle, burned his body and raised a *Stupa* over his relics. It must be remembered also that Hwen Thsang, who relates the legend, was a zealous follower of the *Mahā Yāna*, and this no doubt led him to overlook the manifest contradiction between the statement of the uncharitable *arhat*, and the fact that his brethren had burned his body in the usual manner. This legend, as well as several others, would seem to show that there was a hostile and even bitter feeling between these two great sects of the Buddhist community.

The site of *Vimala Mitra's Stupa* is described as being at the edge of the mango grove, and from the details of the legend it is clear that it could have been at no great distance from the *Stupa* of *Saṅghabhadra*. It would appear also that it must have stood close by the great ditch, or hollow, which his opponents looked upon as the rent in the earth by which he had sunk down to "everlasting hell." Now the mangoe grove which I have before mentioned extends only 120 paces to the westward to the bank of the deep tank called the *Purwālī Tāl*. I conclude, therefore, that the *Stupa* of *Vimala Mitra* must have stood close to the edge of this tank and on the border of the mangoe grove which still exists in the same position as described by Hwen Thsang.

It seems probable that the people of *Madāwar*, as pointed out by M. St. Martin, may be the *Mathæ* of Megasthenes who dwelt on the banks of the Erineses. If so, that river must be the *Mālīni*. It is true that this is but a small stream, but it was in a sacred grove on the bank of the *Mālīni* that *Sakuntala* was brought up, and along its course lay her route to the court of *Dushmanta* at *Hastinapur*. While the lotus floats on its waters, and while the *Chakwa* calls its mate on its bank, so long will the little *Mālīni* live in the verse of *Kālidās*.

V. KASHIPUR, OR GOVISANA.

On leaving *Madipur* the Chinese pilgrim travelled 400 *li*, or 66 miles to the south-east, and arrived in the kingdom of *Ku-pi-shwang-na*, which M. Julien renders by

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The old fort of Ujain is very peculiar in its form, which may be best compared to the body of a guitar. It is 3,000 feet in length from west to east, and 1,500 feet in breadth, the whole circuit being upwards of 9,000 feet, or rather less than 2 miles. Hwen Thsang describes the circuit of Govisana as about 12,000 feet, or nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles; but in this measurement he must have included the long mound of ruins on the south side, which is evidently the remains of an ancient suburb. By including this mound as an undoubted part of the old city, the circuit of the ruins is upwards of 11,000 feet, or very nearly the same as that given by Hwen Thsang. Numerous groves, tanks, and fish ponds still surround the place. Indeed, the trees are particularly luxuriant, owing to the high level of the water which is within 5 or 6 feet of the surface. For the same reason the tanks are numerous and always full of water. The largest of these is the *Dron Ságar*, which, as well as the fort, is said to have been constructed by the five Pandu brothers for the use of their teacher *Drona*. The tank is only 600 feet square, but it is esteemed very holy, and is much frequented by pilgrims on their way to the source of the Ganges. Its high banks are covered with *sati* monuments of recent date. The walls of the fort are built of large massive bricks, 15 inches by 10 inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which are always a certain sign of antiquity. The general height of the walls is 30 feet above the fields; but the whole is now in complete ruin, and covered with dense jungle. Shallow ditches still exist on all sides except the east. The interior is very uneven, but the mass has a mean height of about 20 feet above the country. There are two low openings in the ramparts, one to the north-west and the other to the south-west, which now serve as entrances to the jungle, and which the people say were the old gates of the fort*.

There are some small temples on the western bank of the *Dron Ságar*; but the great place of worship is the modern temple of Jwâlâ Devi, 600 feet to the eastward of the fort. This goddess is also called *Ujain Devi*, and a great fair is held in her honour on the 8th day of the waning moon of Chaitra. Other smaller temples contain symbols of Mahâdeva under the titles of *Bhutesar*, *Muktesar*, *Nâgnâth*, and

* See Plate No XLII for a map of Ujain or Govisana

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diameter must have been much greater, probably not less than 80 feet. But even this larger diameter is too small for a *Stupa* of 200 feet in height of the hemispherical form of Asoka's time, a *Stupa* of that early period, even when provided with both plinth and cupola, would not have exceeded 100 feet in height. Unless, therefore, we may suppose that there is a mistake of 100 feet in the text of Hwen Thsang, I feel quite unable to offer any identification whatever of the Buddhist remains of Govisana as described by the Chinese pilgrim.

VI RAMNAGAR, OR AHICHHATRA.

From Govisana Hwen Thsang proceeded to the south-east 100 *li*, or 66 miles, to *Ahi-chi-ta-lo*, or *Ahichhatra*. This once famous place still preserves its ancient name as *Ahichhatr*, although it has been deserted for many centuries. Its history reaches back to the time of the *Mahābhārata*, at which date it was the capital of Northern *Panchāla*. The name is written *Ahi-kshetra*, as well as *Ahi-chhatra*, but the local legend of Adi Raja and the Nāga, who formed a canopy over his head when asleep, shows that the latter is the correct form. This grand old fort is said to have been built by *Raja Adi*, an Ahir, whose future elevation to sovereignty was foretold by *Drona* when he found him sleeping under the guardianship of a serpent with expanded hood. The place is mentioned by Ptolemy as *Adisadra*, which proves that the legend attached to the name of *Adi* is at least as old as the beginning of the Christian era. The fort is also called *Adikot*, but the more common name is *Ahichhatr*.

According to the *Mahābhārata* the great kingdom of *Panchāla* extended from the Himālaya Mountains to the Chambal River. The capital of North *Panchāla*, or Rohilkhand, was *Ahi-chhatra*, and that of South *Panchāla*, or the central Gangetic Doab, was *Kāmpilya*, now *Kampil*, on the old Ganges between Budaon and Farokhabad.* Just before the great war, or about 1430 B C, the King of *Panchāla*, named *Drupada*, was conquered by *Drona*, the preceptor of the five Pāndus. *Drona* retained North *Panchāla* for himself, but restored the southern half of the kingdom to *Drupada*. According to this account the name of *Ahi-chhatra*, and

* See Plate No II for the positions of the two Panchalas in the map of the North Western Provinces.

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the north and east the place is rendered almost inaccessible by the *Pirā Nala*, a difficult ravine with steep broken banks, and numerous deep pools of water quite impassable by wheeled vehicles. For this reason the east road to Bareilly, distant only 18 miles due east, is not less than 23 miles. Indeed the only accessible side of the position is the north-west, from the direction of *Lahaur*, the ancient capital of the Katchwa Rajputs. It, therefore, fully merits the description of Hwen Thsang as being defended by "natural obstacles." *Ahichhatra* is only seven miles to the north of *Alota*, but the latter half of the road is rendered difficult by the ravines of the *Gūadun River*. It was in this very position, in the juncals to the north of *Alota*, that the Katchwa Rajputs withstood the Muhammadans under Timur Tughlak.

The ruins of *Ahichhatra* were first visited by Captain Hodgson, the Surveyor, who describes the place as "the ruins of an ancient fortress several miles in circumference, which appears to have had 31 bastions, and is known in the neighbourhood by the name of the 'Panlus Fort'" According to my survey there are only 32 towers, but it is quite possible that one or two may have escaped my notice, as I found many parts so overgrown with thorny jungle as to be inaccessible. The towers are generally from 28 to 30 feet in height excepting on the west side, where they rise to 35 feet. A single tower near the south-west corner is 17 feet in height above the road outside. The average height of the interior mass is from 15 to 20 feet. Many of the present towers, however, are not ancient, as an attempt was made by Ali Muhammad Khan, about 200 years ago, to restore the fort with a view of making it his stronghold in case he should be pushed to extremities by the King of Delhi. The new walls are said to have been $1\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz* thick, which agrees with my measurements of the parapets on the south-eastern side, which vary from 2 feet 9 inches to 3 feet 3 inches in thickness at top. According to popular tradition, Ali Muhammad expended about a *karor* of rupees, or one million pounds sterling, in this attempt, which he was finally obliged to abandon on account of its costliness. I estimate that he may, perhaps, have spent about one lakh of rupees, or

* Hwen's Hwen Thsang, II, 234

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The remains of No. I. temple form a mound 65 feet 9 inches in height above the country, and upwards of 30 feet above the walls of the fortress. This lofty mound stands inside the fort near the middle of the north wall, and forms the most conspicuous object amongst the ruins of the mighty fortress of *Ahi-chhatra*. The floor of the temple is 60 feet above the ground, and at this enormous height stood a colossal *lingam*, 3 feet 6½ inches in diameter, and upwards of 8 feet in height, which must have been visible from both east and west through the open doors of the temple for a distance of some miles. The interior of the temple is only 14 feet 4 inches by 10½ feet. The north and south walls are 9 feet 5 inches thick, and the east and west walls only 5 feet 9 inches; but on these two sides there are open porches outside the two entrances which increase the thickness of the walls to 19 feet on the west side, and to 14 feet 11 inches on the east. The exterior dimensions of the temple are 48 feet 3 inches by 29 feet 4 inches. From these dimensions I calculate that the temple must have been about 100 feet in height above its own floor, or 165 feet above the country. The base of the stone *lingam* is square, the middle part octagonal, and the upper part hemispherical. A *trishul*, or trident, is cut upon the base. The upper portion of the *lingam* is broken. The people say that it was struck by lightning, but from the unshattered state of the large block I am more disposed to ascribe the fracture to the hammer of the Muhammadans.

Mound No. II, which is also inside the fort to the west of the large mound, is 35 feet in height, and from 5 to 10 feet above the general line of the ramparts. It shows the remains of a large square building with a long flight of steps on the west side. No. III. mound is only 30 feet in height, and is covered with scrub jungle. There are traces of walls on the surface, but the jungle prevented their immediate excavation. I will take an early opportunity of exploring both of these mounds, as I feel satisfied that they are the remains of large Brahmanical temples.

No. IV. mound stands about 1,000 feet outside the west gate of the fort. It is 300 feet square at base, and 30 feet in height, and has two smaller mounds attached to the north-east corner. On excavating the surface I discovered the foundations of a temple, 11 feet square inside, with walls 3½

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The great ruin called *Chhatr* is a mass of solid brick-work, 10 feet in height above the fields, and 30 feet in diameter at top. The original building was a hemisphere of 50 feet diameter, which was raised upon a base or plinth 15 feet in height. At some later period an outer casing, $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, was added, which increased the diameter to 75 feet, and the height of the crown of the hemisphere to $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Allowing two-sevenths of the diameter for the height of the cupola or pinnacle, which is the proportion observed in the Sanchi bas-reliefs, the total height of the original *Stupa* would have been 57 feet, and that of the later *Stupa* 77 feet. I made several superficial excavations around the base in the hope of finding some portions of the stone railings with which the *Stupa* was most probably surrounded, but without success. I still believe, however, that there must have been the usual Buddhist railings around this *Stupa*, and that a further search would probably bring some of the pillars to light. I found, however, a number of curved wedge-shaped bricks that must have belonged to a circle of between 15 and 16 feet in diameter, and which, I presume, are the remains of the cupola.*

If I am right in my identification of this *Stupa* with that which was built near the Serpent Tank, its original construction must be referred to the reign of Asoka, or about 250 B. C. A strong argument in favor of this date is the similarity of its shape to that of the Bhilsa *Topes*, which are undoubtedly of Asoka's age. The date of the enlargement of the *Stupa* can only be fixed approximately by inferring from Hwen Thsang's silence that it must have been in good order at the time of his visit. Admitting this to have been the case, the date of the enlargement cannot be placed earlier than about A. D. 400 to 500.

The great *Stupa* attracted the attention of some British Officer, about 30 years ago, who dug a gallery into it, 21 feet in length, and then sunk a well for some unknown depth, which I found filled with rubbish. I made use of this old gallery, and continued it to the centre of the *Stupa*, where it met a shaft which I had sunk from the top. From this point I carried the shaft downwards, making use of the gallery, for the removal of the bricks. At a depth of 27 feet from the present top, or at 7 feet below the centre of the

* See Plate No XLIV for a view of this *Stupa*.

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formerly stood there. Unfortunately this mound has furnished bricks to the neighbouring village for many generations, so that but little is now left to point out the nature of the original buildings. A surface excavation brought to light a temple $26\frac{1}{4}$ feet in length by 22 feet in breadth outside, and 11 feet square inside. The plinth is still standing $4\frac{1}{4}$ feet in height, formed of blocks of *kankar*, but the walls have altogether disappeared, excepting some portions of a few courses. The doorway faces the east, from which I infer that the enshrined statue was most probably that of the ascetic Buddha, who is always represented seated in a similar position under the holy Pipal Tree of Buddha-Gaya. I am also led to the same conclusion by the discovery of a broken statue of Buddha with two flying figures over the right shoulder, which are the usual accompaniments of the ascetic figures of Buddha. This statue is broken at the waist, and both arms are lost; but the fragment is still 2 feet high and 2 feet broad, from which I infer that the size of the original statue was not less than 4 feet in height by 3 feet in breadth; and this I believe to have been the principal figure of the temple.

In the same place, five other carved and sculptured stones were discovered, of which one is an inscribed pillar of a Buddhist railing of middle age. The pillar is broken, but the remaining portions of the socket holes are sufficient for the restoration of the original dimensions. The fragment is 1 foot 11 inches in length, with a section of $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 4 inches. The socket holes are 8 inches long, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches apart, which in a pillar of two rails would give a height of 3 feet $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, or of 4 feet 3 inches in a pillar of three rails. The face of the pillar is sculptured with six rows of naked standing figures, there being 5 figures in the lowest row, and only four figures in each of the others. On one of the sides there is the following short inscription in four lines of the age of the Guptas :—

*Achārya Indranandī Sishya Mahādari Pārswamatīsyā
Kottarī.*

The last word but one might, perhaps, be read as *patīsyā*; but the remainder of the inscription is quite clear. I understand it to record the gift of “*Mahādari*, the disciple of the teacher *Indranandī*, to the temple (*Kottarī*) of *Pārswamatī*” Perhaps the term *Kottarī* may be preserved in the name of *Katārī Khera*, by which the mound is now known.

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Dilwâri, 3 *kos*, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, to the south of the fort. The inscription consists of 14 lines of five letters each, the letters of one line being placed exactly under those of the line above, so as to form also five straight perpendicular lines. The stone is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 1 foot broad, and 9 inches thick in the middle, but the continual sharpening of tools has worn down the edges to a breadth of from 7 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The inscription, which is on one of the narrow faces, has accordingly suffered in the partial loss of some of the initial and final letters of several lines. The other three faces of the stone are quite plain, and there is nothing whatever to show what the pillar may have been originally intended for.

My account of *Ahi-chhatra* would not be complete without a reference to the gigantic *lingam* near the village of *Gulariya*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of the fort, and to the Priapian name of the village of *Bhîm-laur*, one mile to the east of the fort. *Bhîm-gaya* and *Bhîm-laur* are common names for the *lingam* in all the districts to the north of the Ganges. I have already quoted Hwen Thsang's remark that the nine Brahmanical temples of Ahi-chhatra in A. D. 634 were dedicated to Siva, and I may now add, in illustration, that only in one of the many ruins about the old fort did I find a trace of the worship of any other divinity.

VII SORON, OR SUKARA-KSHETRA

From *Ahi-chhatra* the Chinese pilgrim proceeded in a south direction, a distance of from 260 to 270 *li*, from 23 to 25 miles, to the Ganges, which he crossed, and then turning to the south-west he arrived in the kingdom of *Pi-lo-shan-na*. His route to the south would have taken him through Aonla and Budaon to the *Budh Ganga* (or old Ganges) somewhere near Sahâwar, a few miles below *Soron*, both of which places stood on the main stream of the Ganges so late as 400 years ago. As his subsequent route is said to have been to the south-west, I believe that he must have crossed the Ganges close to Sahâwar, which is 42 miles from Ahi-chhatra in a direct line. From all my early enquiries I was led to believe that *Soron* was the only ancient place in this vicinity; and as Hwen Thsang does not give any distance for his south-west march, I concluded that *Soron* must have been the place to which he gives the name of *Pi-lo-shan-na*. I accordingly

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white-washed walls Internally the temple is a square of 27 feet supported on 16 stone pillars, but the people say that the original building was much larger, and that it contained 32 pillars This account is most probably correct, as the foundations of the walls of the *sanctum*, or shrine, are still standing at the back, or west side, of the temple There are also 10 superfluous pillars inside the temple, of which two support the broken architraves, and eight are built into the corner spaces of the walls. The style of these columns is similar to that of the set of pillars in the south-east corner of the quadrangle of the Great Kutb Mosque at Delhi, which bear the date of Samvat 1124, or A. D. 1067. That this date is not too early for the Soron temple is proved by the inscriptions of various pilgrims who have visited the shrine. As the oldest legible record bears the date of Samvat 1226, or A. D. 1169, the date of the erection of the temple cannot, therefore, be placed later than A. D. 1000.

These pilgrims' records are generally short and uninteresting, but as there are no less than 38 of them, bearing dates which range from A. D. 1169 to 1511, they become valuable for tracing the history of the temple. The earliest date after the Muhammadan conquest is A. D. 1241, and from that time down to A. D. 1290 there are no less than 15 dated records, showing that Soron continued to be a much frequented place of pilgrimage during the whole period of the *Ghor* dynasty, which ended in A. D. 1289. But during the rule of the next two dynasties, the *Khiljis* and *Tughlaks*, there is only one inscription, dated in A. D. 1375, in the reign of Firuz Now, as nearly one-half of this period was occupied by the reigns of the cruel despot Ala-ud-din Khilji and the ferocious madman Muhammad Tughlak, it seems only reasonable to conclude that the people were deterred from making their usual pilgrimages by the persecution of their Muhammadan rulers The next record is dated in A. D. 1429, and from that time down to 1511 there are 16 dated inscriptions, but as no less than 13 of this number belong to the reign of Bahlol Lodi, I infer that the rule of the Syad dynasty was not favourable to Hindu pilgrimages. I infer also that the temple must have been destroyed during the reign of the intolerant Sikandar Lodi, because the series of inscriptions closes with A. D. 1511, or just six years before the end of his reign. Had the temple existed during the

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our maps It is, however, a very petty place ; and, although it boasts of a small *khera*, or mound of ruins, it cannot, I think, have ever been more than one-fourth of the circuit of two miles which Hwen Thsang attributes to *Pi-lo-shan-na*. But there are two strong points in its favour, namely, 1st, its position which agrees both in bearing and distance with the Chinese pilgrim's account, and 2nd, its name, which is almost identical with the old name, *sh* being very commonly pronounced as *kh*, so that Hwen Thsang's *Piloshanna* would usually be pronounced *Pilokhana*.

In proposing *Atranji-Khera* as the site of the ancient *Piloshanna*, I am influenced solely by the fact that this is the only large place besides *Soron* of any antiquity in this part of the country. It is true that the distance from *Sankisa* is somewhat greater than that recorded by the Chinese pilgrim, namely, 45 miles, instead of 33 miles, but the bearing is exact ; and as it is quite possible that there may be some mistake in Hwen Thsang's recorded distance, I think that *Atranji-Khera* has a better claim than any other place to be identified with the ancient *Piloshanna*. I have not visited the place myself, as I was not aware of its importance when I was in its neighbourhood. I have had it inspected by a trustworthy servant, whose report shows that *Atranji* must once have been a place of considerable extent and importance. According to him, the great mound of *Atranji* is 3,250 in length, and 2,550 in breadth at the base. Now, these dimensions would give a circuit of about two miles, which is the very size of *Piloshanna* as recorded by Hwen Thsang. Its highest point is 44 feet 9 inches, which, if my identification is correct, should be the ruins of the great *Stupa* of Asoka, upwards of 100 feet in height, as this loftly tower is said to have been situated inside a monastery in the middle of the town. Outside the town there were two other monasteries, inhabited by 300 monks. These may, perhaps, be represented by two small mounds which still exist on the east side of the Great *Khera*. To the south there is a third mound, 165 feet in length by 105 feet in breadth, which may possibly be the remains of one or more of the five Bramanical temples described by Hwen Thsang.

Atranji-Khera had two gates,—one to the east, towards the *Kālī Nadi*, and the other to the south. The foundation of the place is attributed to *Raja Vena Chakravartti*.

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kisa to Kanoj 7 *yojanas*, or 49 miles. At Hwen Thsang's own valuation of 40 *li* to the *yojana*, this measurement would give 280 *li*, and as Fa Hian does not record half *yojanas*, we may increase the distance by half a *yojana*, or 20 *li*, which brings the total up to 300 *li*, or exactly 50 miles.

But whatever may be the true explanation of the difference between the actual distances and those recorded by Hwen Thsang, there still remains the important fact that *Sankisa* was exactly midway between *Kanoj* and *Piloshanna* just as it now is midway between *Kanoj* and *Atranji*. If we couple this absolute identity of position with the fact that *Atranji* is the only old place in the part of the country indicated by Hwen Thsang, we can scarcely arrive at any other conclusion than that the great ruined mound of *Atranji* is the site of the ancient *Piloshanna*.

IX. SANKISA.

The site of *Sankisa* was discovered by me in 1842, but it was not until the end of 1862 that I got an opportunity of exploring the ruins at leisure. The name of the place is written *Seng-lia-she* by the Chinese pilgrims, a spelling which is well preserved in the *Sankisa* of the present day, and which represents, with considerable faithfulness, the *Sankāśya* of Sanskrit. Hwen Thsang calls it also by the name of *Kie-pi-tha*, or *Kapitha*, of which I was unable to discover any trace. *Sankisa* was one of the most famous places of Buddhist pilgrimage, as it was there that Buddha was believed to have descended from the *Trayastrimsa* heaven by the ladder of gold or gems, accompanied by the gods Indra and Brahma. According to this curious legend, *Māyā*, the mother of Buddha, died seven days after his birth, and ascended at once to the *Trayastrimsa* heaven, the abode of the 33 gods, of whom Indra was the chief. But as she had no opportunity in this abode of the gods of hearing the law of Buddha, her pious son ascended to the *Trayastrimsa* heaven and preached for three months in her behalf. He then descended to the earth with the gods Brahma and Indra by three staircases, one of which was formed either of crystal or precious stones, another of gold, and the third of silver. According

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 237.—In the *Bṛhajā Jātaka* it is said that the famous astronomer, Varāha Mihira, "obtained the gracious favour of the sun at *Kāpitthala*." I presume that this is the *Kie-pi-tha* of the Chinese pilgrim. Dr. Kern thinks that Varāha Mihira was very probably educated there. *Sankisa* must at any rate have been a place of considerable importance in the 6th century.

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Close to the staircases there was a stone pillar, 70 feet in height, which had been erected by King Asoka. It was formed of a hard, fine-grained reddish stone, and had a brilliant polish. On its summit was a lion, who was seated facing the steps. There were figures also sculptured *inside the pillar* with marvellous art, which were visible only to the virtuous. This is Hwen Thsang's account, with which Fa Hian's agrees in almost every particular; but he adds a curious legend about a dispute between the *Srâmanas* and heretics "If," said the former, "this place ought to be the abode of the *Srâmanas*, let a supernatural testimony proclaim it. They had no sooner finished this speech than the lion on the summit uttered a loud roar."

There were several *Stupas* at *Sankisa*, of which the most famous were the following:

1st.—On the spot where Buddha descended from the *Trayastrimsa* heaven, accompanied by Indra and Brahma. This *Stupa* is not mentioned by Hwen Thsang, but it is noticed by Fa Hian, and in the Barmese life of Buddha.

2nd.—On the spot where the four Buddhas had formerly sat and taken exercise.

3rd.—At the place where Buddha bathed.

4th and 5th —Two small *Stupas* of Indra and Brahma.

6th.—On the spot where the female mendicant *Pundarikavarnâ* obtained the first sight of Buddha on his descent.

7th.—On the spot where Buddha cut his hair and nails.

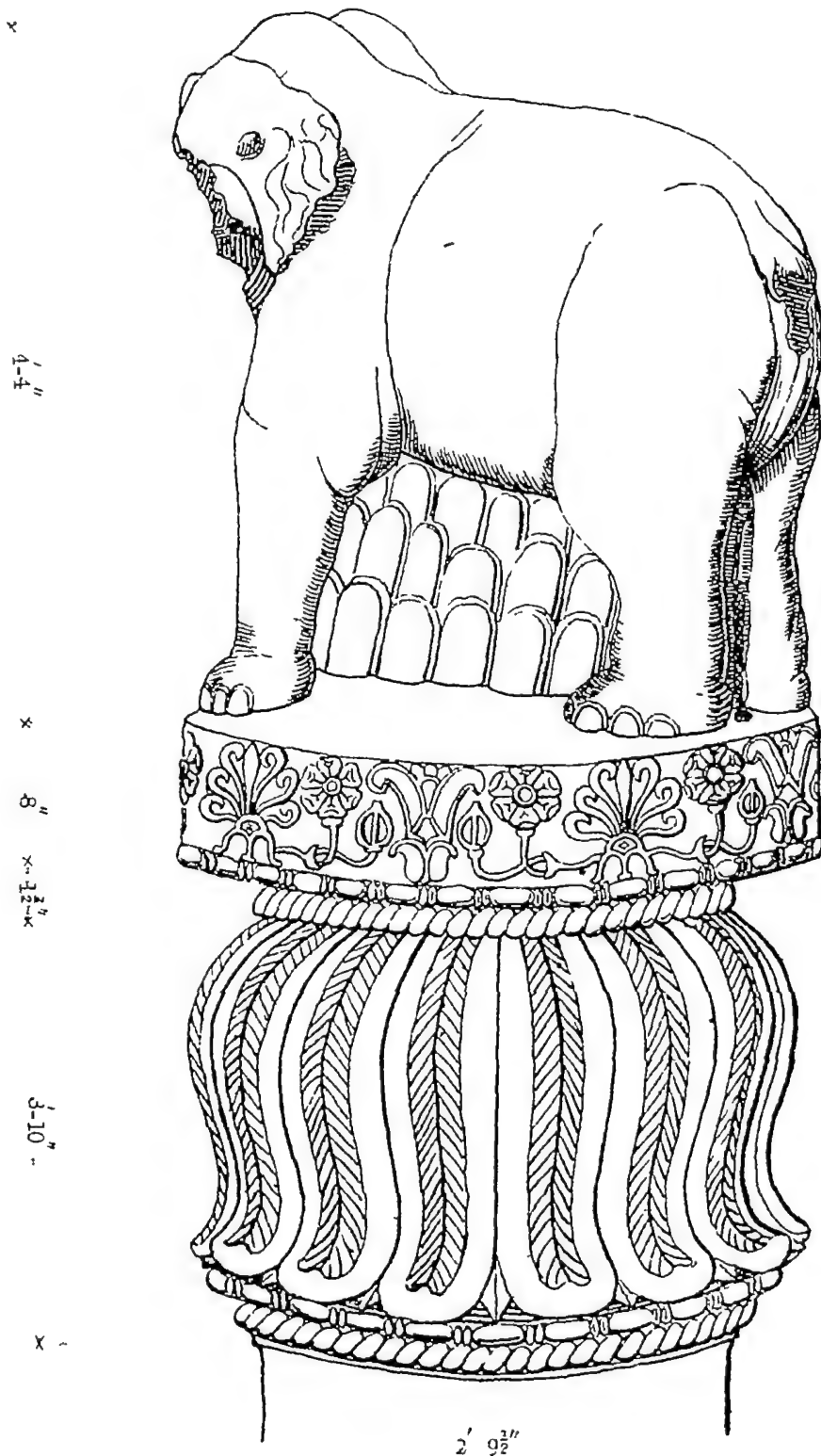
The only other place of note at *Sankisa* was the tank of a *Nâga*, or serpent, which was situated to the south-east of the great *Stupa*. Fa Hian says that this *Nâga* had white ears; that he lived in the dwelling-place of the "ecclesiastics," and that he conferred fertility and abundance on the "country by causing gentle showers to fall upon the fields, and securing them from all calamities." A chapel was erected for his use, and he was said to make his appearance once a year. "When the ecclesiastics perceive him, they present him with cream in a copper vessel."

Hwen Thsang's account of *Sankisa* is unfortunately so meagre that we have but little to guide us in our attempt to identify the holy places of his time with any of the ruins

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are well and faithfully represented, but the loss of the trunk prevents us from forming a decided opinion as to its excellence as a work of art. If we may judge from the position of the legs, the animal was most probably represented as standing still with his trunk hanging down.* The stone is a fine-grained sandstone of reddish hue, and has been very highly polished. The bell-capital is low, its breadth being greater than its height, in which particular it resembles the Asoka Pillar of *Narandgarh Lauriya*, to the north of Bettiah. Taking all these circumstances into consideration along with the superior execution of the work, I feel satisfied that this capital is of the same age as the well known Asoka Pillars of Allahabad and Navandgarh.

Due south from the temple of Bisâri Devi, at a distance of 200 feet, there is a small mound of ruins which appears to be the remains of a *Stupa*. Due east from the temple 600 feet, there is an oblong mound 600 feet in length by 500 feet in breadth, which is known by the name of *Niri-ka-kot*. *Niri* I believe to have been the name of the man who formerly brought this piece of ground into cultivation; and *Kot*, in the phraseology of *Sankisa*, means simply any mound of ruins, and is applied to all the isolated portions of the ramparts. *Niri-ka-kot* would, however, appear to be the remains of some large enclosed building, such as a Buddhist monastery. It is covered with broken bricks of large size, and a few fragments of stone; but I could not trace any remains of walls on the surface. At the south-east and north-east angles of *Niri-ka-kot* there are large circular mounds which are probably the remains of *Stupas* from which all the available bricks have been removed, and at a short distance to the north there is a third mound of the same character.

The *Kilah* and the different mounds of all sizes around the temple form a mass of ruin 3,000 feet in length by 2,000 feet in breadth, or nearly 2 miles in circuit. But this was only the central portion of the ancient city of *Sankisa*, comprising the citadel and the religious buildings that were clustered around the three holy staircases. The city itself, which would appear to have surrounded this central mound on all sides, was enclosed with an earthen rampart, 18,900 feet, or

* See Plate No XLVI for a side view of this capital.—See also Fergusson's History of Architecture, II, 459, No 970, for a front view

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Hwen Thsang; his circuit of 20 *li*, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, being only a little less than my measurement of 18,900 feet, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the place is actually the same; but in attempting to identify the sites of any of the holy spots mentioned by Hwen Thsang, I find myself baffled at the outset by the indefiniteness as well as the meagreness of the pilgrim's descriptions. It is his usual practice to state the relative bearings and distances of most of the chief places of Buddhist veneration, but in describing *Sankisa* he has given only one bearing and not a single distance. The tank of the *Nāga* is the one solitary spot that can be identified with certainty, the sites of all the rest being only guesses of more or less probability.

But the difficulty regarding the identification of the Asoka Pillar is of a different kind. Both of the Chinese pilgrims make mention of only one pillar at *Sankisa*, which was crowned with the figure of a *lion*, and Fa Hian records a silly legend which refers to the miraculous roar of this lion statue. Now, the only piece of an Asoka Pillar at present existing is the *elephant* capital, which I have already described, and which, however absurd it may seem, I think may possibly be the *lion* pillar of the Chinese pilgrims. The reasons which induce me to think so are the following. First, the *elephant* capital is undoubtedly much older than the date of either of the pilgrims, and yet, if it is not the same as the lion capital, it has been left altogether undescribed by them, although its great size could scarcely have allowed it to remain unnoticed; second, the height of the elephant pillar would seem to correspond very closely with that of the lion pillar, as recorded by Fa Hian, who calls it 30 cubits, or from 45 to 60 feet according to the value of the Chinese *chhi*. Now, the diameter of the neck of the elephant pillar is 2 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which, compared with the dimensions of the Allahabad pillar, 2 feet 2 inches neck diameter, to 35 feet of height, gives a total for the shaft of the *Sankisa* Pillar of 44 feet 3 inches. By adding to this the height of the capital, we obtain $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet as the probable height of the *Sankisa* Pillar.* Third, as the trunk of the elephant has long been lost, it is possible that it was missing before the time of the Chinese pilgrims, and if so, the nature of the animal might

* The bell capital with its honey suckle ornamented abacus is 3 feet 10 inches high, and the same in diameter. The elephant is 4 feet 4 inches in height, making the total height of capital 8 feet 3 inches

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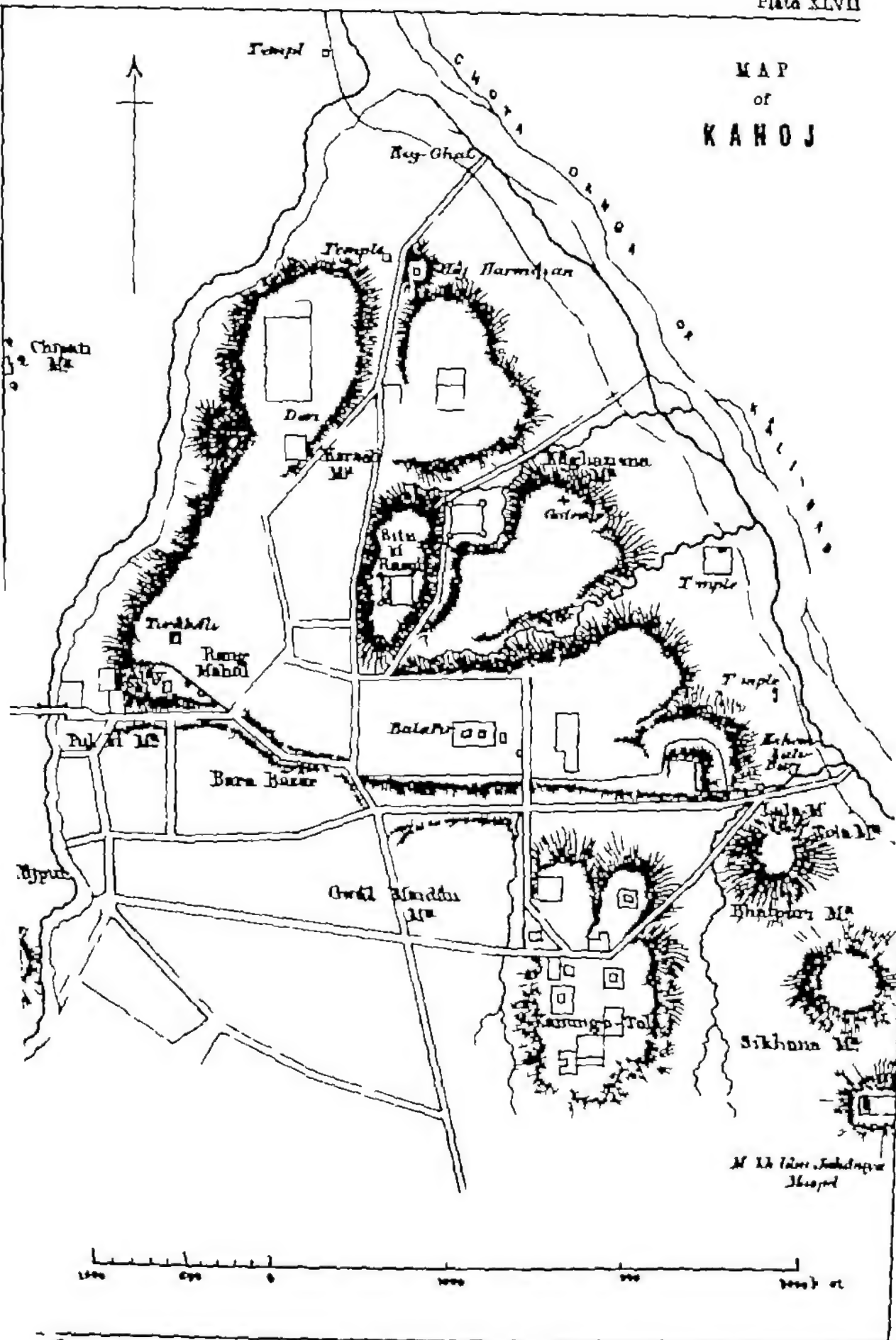
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elephant capital to any other site. It is, however, quite possible that the capital may have been stopped on its way to the temple of *Mohāśāla*, near the *Nāga* mound and tank. The temple of *Devī Dēvī* would then be the site of one of the ten ancient Brahminical sanctuaries which are described by Hwen Thsang. Altogether, this is, perhaps, a more probable solution of the difficulties of the case than that first suggested.

In his description of *Serīssa*, Hwen Thsang mentions a curious fact, that the Brahmans who dwell near the great monastery were "many tens of thousands" in number. As an illustration of this statement, I may mention that the people here maintain that *Serīssa* was deserted from 1800 to 1900 years ago, and that 1300 years ago, or about A. D. 500, it was given by a *Kingśh* to a body of Brahmans. They add also that the population of the village of *Paon-Kheria* is known to have been wholly Brahman until a very recent period.

N. KANOJ.

Of the great city of Kanoj, which for many hundred years was the Hindu Capital of Northern India, the existing remains are few and unimportant. In A. D. 1016, when Mahmud of Ghazni approached Kanoj, the historian relates that "he there saw a city which raised its head to the skies, and which in strength and structure might justly boast to have no equal."† Just one century earlier, or in A. D. 915, Kanoj is mentioned by Masudi as the capital of one of the kings of India, and about A. D. 900 Abu Zaid, on the authority of Ibn Wahab, calls "*Kāduge*, a great city in the kingdom of *Gozar*." At a still earlier date, in A. D. 634, we have the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who describes Kanoj as being 20 *li*, or 3½ miles, in length, and 1 or 5 *li*, or three-quarter of a mile, in breadth. The city was surrounded by strong walls and deep ditches, and was washed by the Ganges along its eastern face.‡ The last fact is corroborated by Fa Hian, who states that the city touched the River *Heng* (Ganges) when he visited it in A. D. 400 §

* I have already noticed, p. 272, that the Burmese Life of Buddha fixes the point of descent at the "gate of the city," and this position seems also to be indicated by the still existing name of *Paon-Kheria*, or "Staircase Village," which is situated just outside the south-east opening, or gate, in the earthen ramparts—See Plate No. XLV.

† Briggs's *Persia*, I, p. 57.

‡ Julien's *Hwen Thsang*, II, p. 213.

§ Beal's *Ia Huan*, C. XVIII, p. 70.

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corroborated in every particular by several ancient inscriptions of the *Chálukya* Rajas of *Kalyán*. According to these inscriptions, Raja Vikramâditya, the grandson of *Pulakesi Vallabha*, gained the title of *Parameswara*, "by the defeat of Sri Harsha Vardhana, famous in the north countries."* Now Vikramâditya's reign is known to have commenced in *Saka* 514, or A. D. 592, as one of his inscriptions is dated in *Saka* 530, or A. D. 608, which is called the 16th year of his reign,† and as his grandson did not succeed to the throne until the *Saka* year 618, or A. D. 696, it is certain that Vikramâditya must have been a contemporary of Harsha Vardhana throughout the greater part, if not the whole, of his reign. The unusually long reigns of the earlier *Chálukya* Princes have led Mr. Walter Elliot to suspect the accuracy of the dates, although, as he points out, "the succeeding dates tally with each other in a way that affords the strongest presumption of their freedom from any material error." The question of the accuracy of these dates is now most satisfactorily confirmed by the unimpeachable testimony of the contemporary record of Hwen Thsang, which I have quoted above.

In determining the period of Harsha's reign, between the years 607 and 648 A. D., I have been guided by the following evidence: 1st, the date of his death is fixed by the curious reported fulfilment of Hwen Thsang's dream,‡ and by the report of the Chinese embassy§. 2nd, in speaking of Harsha's career, the pilgrim records that from the time of his accession Harsha was engaged in continual war for $5\frac{1}{2}$ years, and that afterwards for about 30 years he reigned in peace. This statement is repeated by Hwen Thsang, when on his return to China, on the authority of the King himself, who informed him that he had then reigned for *upwards* of 30 years, and that the quinquennial assembly then collected was the *sixth* which he had convoked. From these different statements it is certain that at the date of Hwen Thsang's return to China, in A. D. 640, Harsha had

* Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, III, 206

† Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, IV, 10

‡ See the discussion on this date in my "Ancient Geography of India," Appendix, p 569

§ Journal, "Asiatic Society," Bengl, 1837, p 69,—anonymous translation. See also Journal Asiatique, 1839, p. 398, French translation by M. Pauthier

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or within four years of the date already obtained for Harsha Vardhana.

In my account of Delhi I have given my reasons for believing that Kanoj was the capital of the *Tomars* down to the invasion of Mahmud in A. D. 1021, immediately after the defeat and death of *Rāja Jay Pāl*. Shortly after that date, the small town of Bâri to the north of Lucknow became the capital, until about A. D. 1050, when the *Tomars* retired to Delhi before the growing power of the *Râhtors*. Once more Kanoj became the capital of a powerful kingdom, and the rival of Delhi, both in extent and in magnificence. Here Jaya Chandra, the last of the *Râhtors*, celebrated the *Aswamedha*, or "Horse-sacrifice;" and here in open day did Prithi Raja, the daring Chief of the Chohâns, carry off the willing daughter of the *Râhtor* King, in spite of the gallant resistance of the two *Banâfar* heroes, *Alha* and *Udal*. The fame of these two brothers, which is fully equal to that of Prithi Raja himself, is still preserved in the songs and traditions of the people amongst the Chandels of *Mahoba* and the *Râhtors* and Chandels of the Doab. After the fall of Delhi in January 1191 A. D., Muhammad Ghorî marched against Kanoj. Raja Jaya Chandra retired before him as far as Banâras, where he made his last stand, but was defeated with great slaughter. The Raja escaped from the field, but was drowned in attempting to cross the Ganges. When his body was recovered by the conquerors, it was found that he had false teeth fixed with wires of gold. With Jaya Chandra ended the dynasty of the *Râhtors* of the Doab, and the wealth and importance of the far-famed capital of Kanoj. Only one hundred and fifty years later it is described by Ibn Batuta as a "small town," and from that time down to the present this ancient city has gradually lessened in consequence, but as it was close to the high road of the Doab, it still continued to be visited by numerous travellers who were attracted by its ancient fame. The final blow to its prosperity has now been given by the diversion of the railroad to Etâwa, which leaves Kanoj far away to the east, to be visited for the future only by the curious antiquary and the civil officials of the district.

In comparing Hwen Thsang's description of ancient Kanoj with the existing remains of the city, I am obliged to confess with regret that I have not been able to identify

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west being protected by the bed of the nameless dry Nala; that to the north-east by the *Chota Gangā*, while that to the south must have been covered by a ditch, which is now one of the main roads of the city, running along the foot of the mound from the bridge below Ajay Pal's temple to the Kshem Kali bastion. On the north-east face the mound rises to 60 or 70 feet in height above the low ground on the bank of the river, and towards the Nala on the north-west, it still maintains a height of from 40 to 50 feet. On the southern side, however, it is not more than 30 feet immediately below the temple of *Ajay Pāl*, but it increases to 10 feet below the tomb of *Bāla Pir*. The situation is a commanding one; and before the use of cannon the height alone must have made Kanoj a strong and important position. The people point out the sites of two gates,—the first to the north, near the shrine of *Ilāṅī Harmāyan*, and the second to the south-east, close to the *Kshem Kali Būrij*. But as both of these gates lead to the river it is certain that there must have been a third gate on the land side towards the south-west, and the most probable position seems to be immediately under the walls of the *Rang Mahal*, and close to the temple of *Ajay Pāl*.

According to tradition, the ancient city contained 84 wards, or *Mahalas*, of which 25 are still existing within the limits of the present town. If we take the area of these 25 wards at three-quarters of a square mile, the 84 wards of the ancient city would have covered just $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. Now, this is the very size that is assigned to the old city by Hwen Thsang, who makes its length 20 *li*, or $3\frac{1}{3}$ miles, and its breadth 4 or 5 *li*, or just three-quarters of a mile, which multiplied together give just $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. Almost the same limits may be determined from the sites of the existing ruins, which are also the chief *find-spots* of the old coins with which Kanoj abounds. According to the dealers, the old coins are found at *Bāla Pir* and *Rang Mahal*, inside the Fort; at *Makhdūm Jahāna*, to the south-east of the Fort; at *Makarandnagar*, on the high road, and intermediately at the small villages of *Singh Bhavān* and *Kātlūpur*. The only other productive site is said to be *Rājgar*, an ancient mound covered with brick ruins on the bank of the *Chota Gangā*, three miles to the south-east of Kanoj. Taking all these evidences into consideration, it appears to

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have reigned a short time before *Jay Chund*, but the names of the intervening Princes are not known. I think it highly probable that *Ajay Pál* is the Tomar Prince *Jay Pál*, who was conquered by Mahmud of Ghazni, and afterwards defeated and killed, in A. D. 1021, by a confederate army under the leadership of the Chandel Raja of *Kalanjar*. Just outside the south-east buttress of the palace, the people point out a spot where they affirm that 29 golden ingots were discovered in 1831, of which 9 were made over to Mr. Wemyss, the Collector of Cawnpoor, and the remainder were secreted by the finders. Accounts differ as to the weight of the ingots, but the general belief is that they weighed about 1 *ser*, or 2 lbs. each. The coin dealers, however, affirm that the 9 ingots which were taken to the Cawnpoor Treasury weighed Rs. 13,500, that is Rs. 1,500, or $18\frac{3}{4}$ *ser*s each.

The *Jama*, or *Dina Masjid* of Kanoj is cited by Mr. Fergusson as a specimen of Hindu cloisters, which has been re-arranged to suit the purposes of Muhammadan worship; and in this opinion I most fully concur. The inscription over the entrance doorway is now much decayed, and several portions are quite obliterated, but a copy has been fortunately preserved by Rajab Ali, a teacher of children, in the court of the Masjid. According to this copy, the Masjid was built in the Hijra year 809, or A. D. 1406, in the reign of Ibrahim Shah (of Jonpur). It is situated on a lofty mound in the very middle of the old fort, and this commanding position alone would be sufficient to show that it must originally have been the site of some Hindu building of considerable importance. This conclusion is partly confirmed by the traditions of the temple, who, however, most absurdly call the place *Sita-ka Rasur*, or "Sita's kitchen." We know also that it was the usual practice of the Muhammadan Kings of Jonpur to raise their Masjids on the sites, and with the materials, of the Hindu temples which they demolished. On comparing, therefore, this cloistered Masjid with those of Jonpur, which are acknowledged re-arrangements of Hindu materials, we see at once that the pillars are all Hindu, and that the domes formed of courses of overlapping stones, and decorated with Hindu symbols are certainly not Muhammadan. When I first visited Kanoj in January 1838 the arrangement of the pillars was somewhat different from what I found it

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ways in the north and south walls of the court. Each pillar is formed of five pieces, *i.e.*, a base and capital, with a middle piece which divides the shafts into two equal portions, and may be called the upper and lower shafts. The shafts are 10 inches square and 3 feet 9 inches in height. The base is 1 foot high, and the middle piece and capital are each 3 inches, thus making the whole height 9 feet 10 inches. But the pillars, as re-arranged by the Muhammadans, are 14 feet 2 inches high, the extra height having been gained by adding a piece to each portion of the shaft. These shorter pieces, which are 2 feet 1 inch in height, are always placed above the original shafts of 3 feet 8 inches. As there could have been no *difficulty* in purchasing a single shaft of the required length of 5 feet 10 inches, it seems certain that the whole of these made-up pillars must have been obtained after the usual cheap Muhammadan manner—by the demolition of some Hindu buildings, either Buddhist or Brahmanical.

The Masjid and tomb of *Makhdûm Jahânnya* are situated on a lofty mound in the *Sikhâna Mahalla* to the south-east of the citadel, overlooking the *Chota Gangâ*. The mound is 40 feet in height above the fields, and is partly occupied by weavers' houses. The tomb of the *Makhdûm* is a common-looking building, 35 feet square. Beside it there are two other plain square tombs holding the remains of his descendants, both male and female. The tomb itself, as recorded in the mutilated inscription which formerly existed over the doorway, was erected over *Sayid Jalâl Makhdûm Jahânnya* by his son *Râju* in the Hijra year 881, or A. D. 1476. The Masjid was built in the same year, in the reign of Husen Shah, of Jonpur, to whom Kanouj still belonged, although some writers place his final defeat by Bahlol Lodi, of Delhi, in this very year, A. H. 881, and others in A. H. 883. The central dome of the Masjid has long ago fallen in, and all the pointed arches are seriously cracked and propped up by unsightly masses of masonry. There is nothing peculiar about the building, save the decoration of the panels of the back wall, which have the name of Allah inscribed on a tablet suspended by a rope. The appearance of the tablet and rope is so like that of the Hindu bell and chain that one is almost tempted to believe that the Muhammadan architect must have simply chiselled away the bolder

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places of worship in Kanoj, and an annual fair is still held on its bank in the month of *Bhādon* (August—September). Close beside it there is a modern temple of *Mahādeva*, which is said to have replaced a ruined one of some antiquity. To the south-west of *Mukerandnagar* there are three mounds covered with broken bricks and pottery; and under a tree on the south mound, are collected a number of fragments, of sculpture at a spot dedicated to *Maorāri* Devi.

Most of the ancient monuments of Kanoj that are noticed by the Chinese pilgrims are of course Buddhist; but numerous as they were, I am unable to do more than offer conjectures more or less probable regarding their sites, as Muhammadan spoliation has not left a single place standing to give even a faint clue towards identification. The position of one of the most remarkable of the monuments is rendered more than usually doubtful by the conflicting evidence of the two pilgrims. According to Fa Hian, the great *Stupa* of *Asoka*, 200 feet in height, which was built on the spot where Buddha had preached on the instability of human existence, was situated at 6 or 7 *li* to the west of the town, and on the north bank of the Ganges. But according to Hwen Thsang, this great *Stupa* was situated at 6 or 7 *li* to the south-east of the capital, and on the south bank of the Ganges. Now, as the ground to the north of the Ganges, as it existed during the first centuries of the Christian era, was very low, and therefore liable to inundation, it seems highly improbable that any monument would have been erected in such an insecure position. I conclude, therefore, that Hwen Thsang's account is most likely right, but I failed in my search for any remains of this vast monument in the position indicated, that is, at rather more than one mile to the south-east of the capital, and on the south bank of the *Chota Gangā*.

To the north-west of the town Hwen Thsang places another *Stupa* of *Asoka*; but as he gives no distance, the mere bearing is too vague to enable us to fix upon the site with any probability. Perhaps the small village of *Kapatya*, or *Kapteswar*, nearly opposite the burnt dāk bungalow, is the most probable site; but, although there are the remains of brick buildings in its vicinity, there is nothing to indicate the previous existence of any large *Stupa*. A smaller *Stupa* containing the hair and nails of Buddha has also disappeared, as well as the memorial monument to the four Buddhas.

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Mahalla, which is about 700 feet to the south of the last mentioned mound in the *Bhatpuri* Mahalla. That this mound was the site of one or more Brahmanical temples seems almost certain from my discovery of a figure of *Shastri*, the goddess of fecundity, and of a pedestal bearing the date of *Samvat* 1193, or A. D. 1136, which is posterior to the extinction of Buddhism in Kanoj. I think it probable that excavations in this mound would be attended with success, as the two temples are said to have been built of stone, which no doubt furnished the whole of the materials for the Masjid and tomb of *Makhdûm Jahânnyâ*.

XI A-YU-TO, OR AYODHYA.

From Kanoj the two Chinese pilgrims followed different routes, Fa Hian having proceeded direct to *Sha-chi* (the modern Ajudhya, near Fyzabad on the Ghâghra), while Hwen Thsang followed the course of the Ganges to Prayâg, or Allahabad. The first stage of both pilgrims would, however, appear to be the same. Fa Hian states that he crossed the Ganges and proceeded 3 *yojans*, or 21 miles, to the forest of *Holi*, where there were several *Stupas* erected on spots where Buddha had “passed, or walked, or sat.”* Hwen Thsang records that he marched 100 *li*, nearly 17 miles, to the town of *Nava-deva-kula*, which was on the eastern bank of the Ganges, and that at 5 *li*, or nearly 1 mile, to the south-east of the town there was a *Stupa* of Asoka, which was still 100 feet in height, besides some other monuments dedicated to the four previous Buddhas † I think it probable that the two places are the same, and that the site was somewhere near Nobatganj, just above the junction of the *Isan River* and opposite *Nanamow Ghât*. But as there are no existing remains anywhere in that neighbourhood, the place has been most likely swept away by the river. This is rendered almost certain by an examination of the Ganges below the junction of the *Isan*. Formerly the river continued its course almost due south from Nanamow for many miles, but some centuries ago it changed its course first to the south-east for 4 or 5 miles, and then to the south-west for about the same distance, where it rejoined its old bed, leaving an island, some 6 miles in length by 4 in breadth, between the two channels. As Hwen Thsang’s account places *Nava-deva-kula* on the very

* Beal’s Fa Hian, C XVIII.

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was the case, the distance would be shortened by 540 *li*, or 90 miles, and if the latter, by 630 *li*, or 105 miles. This mode of correction brings the pilgrim's account into fair accordance with the actual distance of 180 miles between Kanoj and Prayâg.

By adopting the first supposition, Hwen Thsang's distance from *Nava-dera-kula* to the capital of *Ayutho* will be only 60 *li*, or 10 miles, to the south-east, which would bring him to the site of an ancient city named *Kâkûpur*, just 1 mile to the north of Seorâjpoor, and 20 miles to the north-west of Cawnpoor. If we adopt the latter correction, the pilgrim's distance to *Ayutho* of 600 *li*, or 100 miles, will remain unchanged, and this would bring him *viâ Mânikipur*, which is also an ancient place. By the first supposition the subsequent route would have been from *Kâkûpur* to *Daundiakhera* by boat, a distance of exactly 50 miles, or 300 *li*, and from thence to *Prayâg*, a distance of more than 100 miles, which agrees with the 700 *li*, or 116 miles, of the pilgrim. By the second supposition the subsequent route would have been from *Khara* to *Papamow* by water, about 50 miles, and thence to *Prayâg*, about 8 miles of land, which agrees with the 70 *li* of the proposed correction. In favour of this last supposition is the fact that the bearing from *Khara* to *Papamow* of east by south is more in accordance with Hwen Thsang's recorded east direction than the south-east bearing of *Daundiakhera* from *Kâkûpur*. I confess, however, that I am more inclined to adopt the former correction, which places the chief city of *Ayutho* at *Kâkûpur*, and the town of *Hayamukha* at *Daundiakhera*, as we know that the last was the capital of the *Bars Rapputs* for a considerable period. I am partly inclined to this opinion by a suspicion that the name of *Kâkûpur* may be connected with that *Bâgud*, or *Vâgud*, of the Tibetan books. According to this authority a *Sâkya*, named *Shâmpaka*, on being banished from *Kapila* retired to *Bâgud*, carrying with him some of Buddha's hairs and nail-parings, over which he built a *chartya*. He was made King of *Bâgud*, and the monument was named after himself (? *Shâmpakâ Stupa*) *. No clue is given as to the position of *Bâgud*; but as I know of no other name that resembles it, I am induced to think that it is

* Csoma de Koros in Asiatic Researches, XX., p 88.

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Akbar some centuries later built his fort of *Ilâhabâs*, or *Allâhâbâd*, as it was afterwards called by Shahjahan. The distance and bearing given by Hwen Thsang agree almost exactly with those of Prayâga from Daundiakhera. The distance is 104 miles by the nearest road to the south of the Ganges; but as the pilgrim followed the north road, the distance must have been increased to about 115 or 120 miles. According to him the city was situated at the confluence of the two rivers, but to the west of a large sandy plain. In the midst of the city there was a Brahmanical temple, to which the presentation of a single piece of money procured as much merit as that of one thousand pieces elsewhere. Before the principal room of the temple there was a large tree with wide-spreading branches, which was said to be the dwelling of an anthropophagous demon. The tree was surrounded with human bones, the remains of pilgrims who had sacrificed their lives before the temple—a custom which had been observed from time immemorial. *

I think there can be little doubt that the famous tree here described by the Chinese pilgrim is the well known *Akshay Bat*, or “undecaying Banian tree,” which is still an object of worship at Allahabad. This tree is now situated underground at one side of a pillared court, which would appear to have been open formerly, and which is, I believe, the remains of the temple described by Hwen Thsang. The temple is situated inside the fort of Allahabad to the east of the Ellenborough Barracks, and due north from the stone pillar of Asoka and Samudra Gupta. Originally both tree and temple must have been on the natural ground level; but from the constant accumulation of rubbish they have been gradually earthed up until the whole of the lower portion of the temple has disappeared underground. The upper portion has long ago been removed, and the only access to the *Akshay Bat* now available is by a flight of steps which leads down to a square pillared court-yard. This court has apparently once been open to the sky, but it is now closed in to secure darkness and mystery for the holy Fig tree.

The *Akshay Bat* is next mentioned by Rashid-ud-din in the *Jâmrut-tawârîkh*, in which he states that the “tree of *Prâg*” is situated at the confluence of the Jumna and

* Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, p 276

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his edicts regarding the propagation of Buddhism. It was next made use of by Samudra Gupta, about the second century of the Christian era, for the record of his extensive sovereignty over the various nations of India—from Nepâl to the Dakhan, and from Gujarât to Assam. Lastly, it was re-erected by the Mogal Emperor Jahângir to commemorate his accession to the throne in the year 1605 A. D. These are the three principal inscriptions on the Allahabad Pillar, but there are also a number of minor records of the names of travellers and pilgrims of various dates, from about the beginning of the Christian era down to the present century. Regarding these minor inscriptions, James Prinsep remarks that “it is a singular fact that the periods at which the pillar has been overthrown can be thus determined with nearly as much certainty from this desultory writing, as can the epochs of its being re-erected from the more formal inscriptions recording the latter event. Thus that it was overthrown some time after its first erection by the great Asoka in the middle of the third century before Christ, is proved by the longitudinal or random insertion of several names in a character intermediate between No. 1 and No. 2, in which the *m*, *b*, &c, retain the old form.” Of one of these names he remarks—“Now it would have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to have cut the name No. 10 up and down at right angles to the other writing, *while the pillar was erect*, to say nothing of the place being out of reach, unless a scaffold were erected on purpose, which would hardly be the case, since the object of an ambitious visitor would be defeated by placing his name out of sight and in an unreadable position.” The pillar “was erected as Samudra Gupta’s arm, and there it probably remained until overthrown again by the idol-breaking zeal of the Musulmâns; for we find no writings on it of the *Pâla*, or Sârânâth type (*i. e.*, of the tenth century), but a quantity appears with plain legible dates from the *Samvat* year 1420, or A. D. 1363, down to 1660 odd, and it is remarkable that these occupy one side of the shaft, or that which was uppermost when the pillar was in a prostrate position. A few detached and ill executed Nâgari names with *Samvat* dates of 1800 odd, “show that ever since it was laid on the ground again by General Garstin, the passion for recording visits of piety or curiosity has been at work.”* In this last passage James Prinsep has,

* Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, 1837, p. 967

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the *Akshay Bat*, may at least serve one useful purpose in warning us not to place too much faith in these local traditions. The name of *Prayāga* is recorded by Hwen Thsang in the 7th century, and is, in all probability, as old as the reign of Asoka, who set up the stone pillar about B. C. 240, while the fort was not built until the end of the 16th century.

XIV. KOSAM, OR KOSAMBI

The city of *Kosāmbi* was one of the most celebrated places in ancient India, and its name was famous amongst Brahmans as well as Buddhists. The city is said to have been founded by *Kusamba*, the tenth in descent from Pururavas; but its fame begins only with the reign of *Chakra*, the eighth in descent from *Arjuna Pāndu*, who made Kosāmbi his capital after Hastinapura had been swept away by the Ganges. If the date of the great war (*Mahābhārata*) be fixed at 1426 B. C., which, as I have already shown in my account of Delhi, is the most probable period, then the date of Chakra will be about 1200 or 1150 B. C. Twenty-two of his descendants are said to have reigned in Kosāmbi down to Kshemaka, the last of the dynasty; but it seems almost certain that some names must have been omitted, as the very longest period of 30 years which can be assigned to a generation of Eastern Kings will place the close of the dynasty about B. C. 500, and make the period of *Udāyana* about 630 to 600 B. C. If we take all the recorded names of the different authorities, then the number of generations will be 24, which will place the close of the dynasty in B. C. 440, and fix the reign of *Udāyana* in 570 to 540 B. C. As *Udāyana* is represented by the Buddhists to have been a contemporary of Buddha, this date may be accepted as wonderfully accurate for so remote a period of Indian History.

Kosāmbi is mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*, the earliest of the Hindu Poems, which is generally allowed to have been composed before the Christian era. The story of *Udāyana*, King of Kosāmbi, is referred to by the Poet Kāli Dāsa in his *Megha-duta*, or "Cloud Messenger," when he says that *Avanti* (or Ujain) is great with the number of those versed in the tale of *Udāyana*.* Now Kāli Dāsa flourished shortly after

* H. H. Wilson, "*Megha-duta*," note 64

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The site of this great city, the capital of the later Pându Princes, and the shrine of the most sacred of all the statues of Buddha, has long been sought in vain. The Brahmans generally asserted that it stood either on the Ganges, or close to it, and the discovery of the name of *Kosâmbi mandala*, or "Kingdom of Kosâmbi," in an inscription over the gateway of the fort of *Khara*, seemed to confirm the general belief, although the south-west bearing from Prayâga or Allahabad, as recorded by Hwen Thsang, points unmistakably to the line of the Jumna. In January 1861 Mr. E. C. Bayley informed me that he believed the ancient Kosâmbi would be found in the old village of Kosam, on the Jumna, about 30 miles above Allahabad. In the following month I met Babu Siva Prasâd, of the Educational Department, who takes a deep and intelligent interest in all archæological subjects, and from him I learned that *Kosam* is still known as *Kosâmbi-nagar*, that it is even now a great resort of the Jains, and that only one century ago it was a large and flourishing town. This information was quite sufficient to satisfy me that *Kosam* was the actual site of the once famous Kosâmbi. Still, however, there was no direct evidence to show that the city was situated on the Jumna; but this missing link in the chain of evidence I shortly afterwards found in the curious legend of Bakkula.* The infant Bakkula was born at Kosâmbi; and while his mother was bathing in the *Jumna*, he accidentally fell into the river, and being swallowed by a fish was carried to Banâras. There the fish was caught and sold to the wife of a nobleman, who, on opening it, found the young child still alive inside, and at once adopted it as her own. The true mother hearing of this wonderful escape of the infant, proceeded to Banâras, and demanded the return of the child, which was of course refused. The matter was then referred to the King, who decided that both of the claimants were mothers of the child—the one by *maternity*, the other by *purchase*. The child was accordingly named *Bakula*; that is, of "two *kulas*, or races." He reached the age of 90 years without once having been ill, when he was converted by the preaching of Buddha, who declared him to be "the chief of that class of his disciples who were free from disease." After this

* Hardy, "Manual of Buddhism," p 501.

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Kosambi, as recorded by Hwen Thsang. Unfortunately this distance is differently stated in the life and in the travels of of the Chinese pilgrim.* In the former, the distance is given as 50 *li*, and in the latter as 500 *li*, whilst in the return journey to China the pilgrim states that, between Prayâg and Kosambi, he travelled for *seven* days through a vast forest and over bare plains. Now, as the village of Kosam is only 31 miles from the fort of Allahabad, the last statement would seem to preclude all possibility of its identification with the ancient Kosambi. But, strange to say, it affords the most satisfactory proof of their identity; for the subsequent route of the pilgrim to Sankissa is said to have occupied one month; and as the whole distance from Prayâg to Sankissa is only 200 miles, the average length of the pilgrim's daily march was not more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles. This slow progress is most satisfactorily accounted for, by the fact that the march from Prayâg to Sankissa was a religious procession, headed by the great King Harsha Vardhana of Kanoj, with a train of no less than 18 tributary Kings, besides many thousands of Buddhist monks, and all the crowd of an Indian camp. According to this reckoning, the distance from Prayâg to Kosambi would be 38 miles, which corresponds very closely with the actual road distance as I found it. By one route on going to Kosam, I made the distance 37 miles, and by the return route 35 miles. The only probable explanation of Hwen Thsang's varying distance of 50 *li* and 500 *li* that occurs to me is, that as he converted the Indian *yojanas* into Chinese *li* at the rate of 40 *li* per *yojana*, or of 10 *li* per *kos*, he must have written 150 *li*, the equivalent to 15 *kos*, which is the actual distance across the fields for foot passengers from Kosam to the fort of Allahabad, according to the reckoning of the people of Kosam itself. But whether this explanation be correct or not, it is quite certain that the present Kosam stands on the actual site of the ancient *Kosambi*; for not only do the people themselves put forward this claim, but it is also distinctly stated in an inscription of the time of Akbar, which is recorded on the great stone pillar, still standing in the midst of the ruins, that this is *Kausambi pura*.

The present ruins of Kosambi consist of an immense fortress formed of earthen ramparts and bastions, with a

* See Julien's Hwen Thsang, I, 121, 260 p, and II, 283

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nearly as possible of the same length as the east front. This would add 2,400 feet, or nearly half a mile to the length of the west front, and would increase the whole circuit of the ramparts to 4 miles and 7 furlongs, which is within one furlong of the measurement of 5 miles, or 30 *li* recorded by Hwen Thsang. In three main points therefore of name, size, and position, the present Kosam corresponds most exactly with the ancient Kosâmbi, as it is described by the Chinese pilgrim in the 7th century.

Viewed from the outside, the ruins of Kosâmbi present a most striking appearance. My previous enquiries had led me to expect only a ruined mound some 20 or 30 feet in height covered with broken bricks. What was my surprise, therefore, when still at some distance from the place on the north-east side, to behold extending for about 2 miles a long line of lofty earthen mounds as high as most of the trees. I felt at once that this was the celebrated Kosâmbi, the capital of the far-famed Raja Udâyana. On reaching the place I mounted one of the huge earthen bastions, from whence I had a clear view of the interior. This was very uneven but free from jangal, the whole surface being thickly covered with broken bricks. In many places the bricks were partially cleared away to form fields, but in others the broken bricks were so thickly strewn that the earth beneath was scarcely discernible. But I was disappointed to find that there were no prominent masses of ruin,—the only object that caught the eye being a modern Jain temple. I recognized the positions of six gates by the deep depressions in the lines of rampart. There are two of these openings on each of the three land faces of the fortress.

The present village of Kosam consists of two distinct portions, named *Kosam Inâm* and *Kosam Khirâj*, or “Rent-free” and “Rent-paying” Kosam, the former being on the west, and the latter on the east side of the old fortress. Inside the ramparts, and on the bank of the Jumna, there are two small villages called *Garhawâ Barâ* and *Garhawâ Chota*, their names being no doubt derived from their position within the fort or *garh*. Beyond Kosam Inâm is the large village of Pâli, containing 100 houses, and beyond Kosam Khirâj on the bank of the Jumna stands the hamlet of *Gop-Sahasa*. To the north there is another hamlet called *Ambâ-Kua*, because it possesses a large old well

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of a male and female ; and as both of these figures exhibit the very same scanty clothing as is seen in those of the bas-reliefs of the Sânci Tope, near Bhilsa, I would refer the Kosâmbi pillars to the same age, or somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era.

The only other existing relic of Buddhism inside the fort is a large stone monolith similar to those of Allahabad and Delhi, excepting only that it bears no ancient inscription. This column is now standing at an angle of 5° , about one-half of the shaft being buried in a mound of brick ruins. The portion of the shaft above ground is 14 feet in length, and close by there are two broken pieces, measuring respectively 4 feet 6 inches and 2 feet 3 inches. I made an excavation completely round the pillar to a depth of 7 feet 4 inches, without reaching the end of the polished portion of the shaft. All these figures added together give a total length of 28 feet ; but the pillar was no doubt several feet longer, as the shafts of all the five known monoliths exceed 30 feet. The smallest diameter is $29\frac{1}{2}$ inches, or nearly the same as that of the *Lauriya-Ara-Raj* pillar, and as the diameter increases in nearly the same proportion, I presume that the Kosâmbi pillar most probably had about the same height of 36 feet. According to the villagers, this pillar was in one piece as late as 50 years ago, but it was leaning against a large *Nimb* tree. The tree was old and hollow, and some cowherds having accidentally set fire to it, the top of the pillar was broken by the heat. Several different persons affirmed that the shaft was originally nearly double its present height. This would make the height above ground somewhat less than twice 14 feet, or say about 27 feet, which, added to the ascertained smooth portion of 7 feet 4 inches under ground, would make the original height of the smooth shaft upwards of 34 feet.* I found numerous roots of the old tree in my excavation round the pillar. The statement of the people that the Kosâmbi pillar has been leaning in its present position as long as they can remember, is curiously corroborated by the fact that an inscription dated in the reign of Akbar is cut across the face of the shaft at an angle of about 50° but parallel to the horizon. It seems

* An excavation was made in 1870 by Mr Nesbitt, District Engineer, which exposed a total length of 34 feet, when the work was suspended. Mr Nesbitt supposes the length to exceed 40 feet.

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1621, or A. D. 1564, in the early part of Akbar's reign, detailing the genealogy of a whole family of goldsmiths. It is in this inscription that the name of *Kosāmbipura* occurs, the founder of the family, named Anand Rām Dās, having died at Kosam. The monolith is called *Rām-ka-charri*, "Ram's walking stick," by some, and by others *Bhim-sen-ka-Gadā*, or "Bhim-sen's club." Inside the fort also, about midway between the two villages of *Garhawā*, I found a large *lingam*, bearing four heads, with three eyes each, and with the hair massed on the top of each head. The discovery of this costly symbol of Mahadeva shows that the worship of *Śiva* must have been firmly established at Kosāmbi at some former period; and as Hwen Thsang mentions the existence of no less than 50 heretical (that is Brahmanical) temples at the time of his visit, I think it probable that the large *lingam* may have belonged to one of those early temples.

To the south-west of *Kosāmbi*, distant 8 or 9 *li*, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, Hwen Thsang describes a lofty *Stupa* of Asoka, 200 feet in height, and a stone cavern of a venomous dragon, in which it was devoutly believed that Buddha had left his shadow. But the truthful pilgrim candidly says that this shadow was not to be seen in his time. If Hwen Thsang's south-west bearing is correct, the holy cave must have been carried away long ago by the encroachment of the Jumna, as the clear reach of the river above Kosāmbi, as far as the hill of Prabhāsa, a distance of 4 miles, now bears 282° from the south-west, of the old city, or 12° to the north of west. The hill of Prabhāsa, which is on the left bank of the Jumna, is the only rock in the *Antarved* or Doab of the Ganges and Jumna. In a hollow between its two peaks stands a modern Jain temple, but there is no cavern, and no trace of any ancient buildings.

At a short distance to the south-east of *Kosāmbi*, there was an ancient monastery containing a *Stupa* of Asoka, 200 feet in height, which was built on the spot where Buddha had explained the law for many years. Beside the monastery, a householder named *Ku-shi-lo*, formerly had a garden. Fa Hian calls it the garden of *Ku-sse-lo*, but by the Buddhists of Ceylon it is called the *Ghosika* garden. M. Julien renders the name doubtfully by *Goshira*, but it appears to me that the true name was most probably the Sanskrit

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XV. K U S A P U R A

From Kosâmbi the Chinese pilgrim travelled to the north-east, through a vast forest as far as the Ganges, after crossing which his route lay to the north for a distance of 700 *li*, or 117 miles, to the town of *Kia-she-pu-lo*, which M. Julien correctly renders by *Kasapura*. In searching for the site of this place the subsequent route of the pilgrim to *Visâkhâ*, a distance of 170 to 180 *li*, or from 28 to 30 miles, to the north is of equal importance with the bearing and distance from Kosâmbi. For as the *Visâkhâ*, of Hwen Thsang, as I will presently show, is the same place as the *Sha-chi* of Fa Hian, and the *Sâketa* or Ayodhya of the Hindus, we thus obtain two such well fixed points as Kosâmbi and Ayodhya to guide us in our search. A single glance at the map will be sufficient to show that the old town of *Sultânpur* on the *Gomati* (or Gumti) River is as nearly as possible in the position indicated. Now the Hindu name of this town was *Kusabhavanapura*, or simply *Kusapura*, which is almost the same name as that of Hwen Thsang. Remembering Mr. Bayley's note of information derived from Raja Mân Sinh that there was "a *tope* near Sultânpur," I pitched my tent on one side of the now utterly desolate city, and searched the whole place through most carefully, but all in vain: I could neither find the trace of any *tope*, nor could I even hear of ancient remains of any kind. On the following day, however, after I had left Sultânpur, I heard that the village of Mahmûdpur, about 5 miles to the north-west, was situated on an ancient mound of somewhat larger size than that of Sultânpur, and on my arrival at Faizabad, I learned from Lieutenant Swetenham, of the Royal Engineers, that there is an old *tope* to the north-west of Sultânpur, not far from this village. I conclude, therefore, that Sultânpur, the ancient Kusapura, is the same place as the Kasapura of Hwen Thsang, and this identification will be made even more certain on examination of the recorded distances.

On leaving Kosâmbi, the pilgrim proceeded first in a north-east direction to the Ganges, after crossing which he turned to the north to Kasapura, the whole distance being 117 miles. Now, the two great ghâts on the Ganges to the north-east of Kosam are at Mau-Saraya and Pâpamau, the former being 40 miles, and the latter 43 miles distant. But as these two ghâts are close together, and almost

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with brick towers at the four corners. On all sides it is surrounded by the huts of the ruined town, the whole together covering a space of about half a mile square, or about two miles in circuit. This estimate of the size of Sultānpur agrees very closely with that of Kusapura given by Hwen Thsang, who describes the place as being 10 *li*, or $1\frac{2}{3}$ miles, in circuit.

XVI. DHOPAPAPURA.

Before accompanying the pilgrim to the ancient city of *Sāketa* or *Ayodhya*, I will take the opportunity of describing the famous place of Hindu pilgrimage called *Dhopāpapura*, which is situated on the right or west bank of the Gomati River, 18 miles to the south-east of Sultānpur, and immediately under the walls of the fort of *Garhā*, or *Shurka-Garh*. The legend of the place is as follows.—After Rāma Chandra had killed the giant Rāvana he wandered about trying to obtain purification for his guilt in having thus extinguished a portion of the spirit of Brahmā (*Brahmā-ka-ans*); but all his efforts were ineffectual, until he met with a white crow, when he was informed by the Muni Vasishtha that the crow had become white from having bathed in the Gomati River at a particular spot. Rāma proceeded to bathe at the same spot, and was immediately purified, or “cleansed” from his sin. The place was accordingly named *Dho-pāpa*, or “cleanser of sins” and the town which soon sprang up beside it was called *Dhopāpapura*. In Sānskrit the form is *Dhūtapāpa*, which is given in the list of the Vishnu Purāna as the name of a river distinct from the Gomati; but as the name immediately follows that of the Gomati, I think it probable that the term may have been intended only as an epithet of the *Gomati*, as the *Dhūtapāpa*, or “Sin-cleanser,” in allusion to the legend of Rāma’s purification. An annual fair is held here on the 10th day on the waning moon of *Jyesth*, at which time it is said that about fifty thousand people assemble to bathe in the far-renowned pool of *Dhopāpa*.

The site of *Dhopāp* is evidently one of very considerable antiquity, as the whole country for more than half a mile around it is covered with broken bricks and pottery. The place is said to have belonged to the *Bhar* Rajas of *Kusabhavanapura* or Sultānpur, but the only name that I

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specimen of any Hindu coinage, although I was informed that coins bearing figures are found every year during the rainy season.

I may here mention that I heard of another place of Hindu pilgrimage on the north bank of the Gomati River, at a spot called *Set-Baráh*, that is *Sweta-Varāha*, or “the white Boar,” 15 *kos*, or 30 miles, from Sultānpur towards Lucknow. Two annual fairs are held there,—1st, on the ninth day of the waxing moon of Chaitra, and the 2nd, on the fifteenth day of the waxing moon of Kartik, when it is said that about fifty thousand people assemble to bathe. The former period is connected with the history of Rāma Chandra, as it is commonly known as the *Rām-navamī Tirath* or “Rāma’s ninth (day) place of pilgrimage” I could not learn anything regarding the origin of the name of *Set Baráh*.

XVII SAKETA, OR AJUDHYA.

Much difficulty has been felt regarding the position of Fa-Hian’s “great kingdom of *Sha-chi*, and of Hwen Thsang’s *Visākhā*, with its enormous number of heretics,” or Brahmanists; but I hope to show in the most satisfactory manner that these two places are identical, and that they are also the same as the *Sāketa* and *Ajudhya* of the Hindus. The difficulty has arisen chiefly from an erroneous bearing recorded by Fa Hian, who places *Shewei*, or *Srāvastī*, to the south of *Sha-chi*, while Hwen Thsang locates it to the north-east, and partly from his erroneous distance of $7 + 3 + 10 = 20$ *yojans*, instead of 30, from the well-known city of Sankisa. The bearing is shown to be erroneous by the route of a Hindu pilgrim from the banks of the Godavery to *Sewet*, or *Srāvastī*, as recorded in the Ceylonese Buddhist works.* This pilgrim, after passing through Mahissati and Ujani, or Maheshmati and Ujan, reaches Kosāmbi, and from thence passes through *Sāketa* to *Sewet*, that is, along the very route followed by Hwen Thsang. We have, therefore, two authorities in favour of *Sewet* being to the north of Sāket. With regard to the distance, I refer again to the Buddhist books of Ceylon, in which it is recorded that from *Sakespura* (or *Sangkasyapura*, now Sankisa) to *Sewet* was a journey of

* Hardy, “Manual of Buddhism,” p 334.

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rich merchant of *Srāvastī*; and 2nd, that Buddha is recorded by Hwen Thsang to have spent six years at *Visākha*, while by the Pali annals of Turnour he is stated to have lived 16 years at *Sāketa*.

The story of the noble maiden *Visākha* is related at great length in the Ceylonese books. According to Hardy, she erected a *Purvārama* at *Srāvastī*, which is also mentioned by Hwen Thsang. Now there was also a *Purvārama* at *Sāketa*, and it can hardly be doubted that this monastery was likewise built by her*. She was the daughter of *Dhananjanā*, a rich merchant, who had emigrated from *Rajagriha* to *Sāketa*. Now, amongst the oldest inscribed coins which have been discovered only at Ajudhya, we find some bearing the names of *Dhana Deva* and *Visākha-Datta*. I mention this because it seems to me to show the probability that the family of *Dhananjanā* and *Visākhā* was of great eminence in *Sāketa* or *Ayodhya*; and I infer from the recurrence of their names, as well as from the great celebrity of the lady, that the city may possibly have been called *Visākha* after her name.

The other proof which I derive from the years of Buddha's residence is direct and convincing. According to the Ceylonese annals, Buddha was 35 years of age when he attained Buddhahood; he then led a houseless life for 20 years, preaching in various places in Northern India, all of which are detailed, and of the remaining 25 years of his life he spent 9 in the *Jetavana* monastery at *Srāvastī*, and 16 in the *Pubhārāma* monastery at *Sāketapura*. Now, in the Burmese annals, these numbers are given as 19 years and 6 years, and in the last figure we have the exact number recorded by Hwen Thsang. Nothing can be more complete than this proof. There were only two places at which Buddha resided for any length of time, namely, *Srāvastī*, at which he lived either 9 or 19 years, and *Sāketa*, at which he lived either 6 or 16 years, and as according to Hwen Thsang he lived for 6 years at *Visākha*, which is described as being at some distance to the south of *Srāvastī*, it follows of necessity that *Visākha* and *Sāketa* were one and the same place.

* Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 227, and Juhen's *Hwen Thsang*, I, 305. See also *Pubhārāma* mentioned by Turnour in *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, VII., 790.

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their own extravagant notions. The present city of Ajudhya, which is confined to the north-east corner of the old site, is just two miles in length by about three-quarters of a mile in breadth; but not one-half of this extent is occupied by buildings, and the whole place wears a look of decay. There are no high mounds of ruins, covered with broken statues and sculptured pillars, such as mark the sites of other ancient cities, but only a low irregular mass of rubbish heaps, from which all the bricks have been excavated for the houses of the neighbouring city of Faizabad. This Muhammadan city, which is two miles and-a-half in length, by one mile in breadth, is built chiefly of materials extracted from the ruins of Ajudhya. The two cities together occupy an area of nearly six square miles, or just about one-half of the probable size of the ancient Capital of Râma. In Faizabad the only building of any consequence is the stuccoed brick tomb of the old Bhao Begam, whose story was dragged before the public during the famous trial of Warren Hastings. Faizabad was the capital of the first Nawabs of Oudh, but it was deserted by Asaf-ud-daolah in A. D. 1775.

According to the Râmâyana, the city of Ayodhya was founded by Manu, the progenitor of all mankind. In the time of Dasaratha, the father of Râma, it was fortified with towers and gates, and surrounded by a deep ditch. No traces of these works now remain, nor is it likely, indeed, that any portion of the old city should still exist, as the *Ayodhya* of Râma is said to have been destroyed after the death of *Vrihadbala* in the great war about B. C. 1426, after which it lay deserted until the time of Vikramâditya. According to popular tradition this Vikramâditya was the famous Sâkâri Prince of Ujain, but as the Hindus of the present day attribute the acts of all Vikramas to this one only, their opinion on the subject is utterly worthless. We learn, however, from Hwen Thsang that a powerful Prince of this name was reigning in the neighbouring city of Srâvasti, just one hundred years after Kanishka, or close to 78 A. D., which was the initial year of the *Sâke era* of *Sâlvâhana*. As this Vikramâditya is represented as hostile to the Buddhists, he must have been a zealous Brahmanist, and to him therefore I would ascribe the re-building of Ayodhya and the restoration of all the holy places referring to the history of Râma. Tradition says that when Vikramâditya came to Ayodhya, he

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Mani-Parbat, *Kuber-Parbat*, and *Sugrib-Parbat* *. The first, which is nearest to the city, is an artificial mound, 65 feet in height, covered with broken bricks and blocks of *kankar*. The old bricks are eleven inches square and three inches thick. At 46 feet above the ground on the west side, there are the remains of a curved wall faced with *kankar* blocks. The mass at this point is about 40 feet thick, and this was probably somewhat less than the size of the building which once crowned this lofty mound. According to the Brahmans the *Mani-Parbat* is one of the hills which the monkeys made use of when assisting Râma. It was accidentally dropped here by Sugriva, the monkey-king of *Kishkindhya*. But the common people, who know nothing of this story, say that the mound was formed by the labourers shaking their baskets on this spot every evening on their return home from the building of Ramkot. It is therefore best known by the name of *Jhowa-Jhâr* or *Ora Jhâr*, both of which mean "basket-shakings." A similar story is told of the large mounds near Banâras, Nimsâr, and other places.

Five hundred feet due south from the large mound stands the second mound called *Kuber-Parbat*, which is only 28 feet in height. The surface is an irregular heap of brick rubbish, with numerous holes made by the people in digging for bricks, which are of large size, 11 inches by $7\frac{1}{4}$ by 2. It is crowned by two old tamarind trees, and is covered with *jungal*. Close by on the south-west there is a small tank, called *Ganes-Kund* by the Hindus, and *Husen Kund* or *Imâm Talao* by the Musulmâns, because their *Tâzias* are annually deposited in it. Still nearer on the south-east there is a large oblong mound called *Sugrib-Parbat*, which is not more than 8 or 10 feet above the ground level. It is divided into two distinct portions, that to the north being upwards of 300 feet square at top, and the other to the south upwards of 200 feet. In the centre of the larger enclosure there is a ruined mound containing bricks $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, and in the centre of the smaller mound there is a well.

Between the *Mani* and *Kuber* mounds there is a small Muhammadan enclosure, 64 feet long from east to west and 47 feet broad, containing two brick tombs, which are attributed to *Sis Parghambar* and *Ayub Parghambar*, or the "prophets Seth and Job." The

* See Plate No. XLIX for a map of the ruins of Ajudhya.

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Râma was not more than half of its present size, although it probably contained a greater population, as not above one-third, or even perhaps less, of the present town is inhabited. The old city then possessed no less than twenty monasteries with three thousand monks and about fifty Brahmanical temples, with a very large Brahmanical population. From this account we learn that so early as the seventh century more than three hundred of the original temples of Vikramâditya had already disappeared, and we may therefore reasonably infer that the city had been gradually declining for some time previously. The Buddhist monuments, however, would appear to have been in good order, and the monks were just as numerous as in the eminently Buddhist city of Banâras.

The first monument described by Hwen Thsang is a great monastery without name, but as it was the only notable monastery, it was most probably either the *Kâlakârâma* of Sâketa, or the *Purvârâma*, both of which are mentioned in the Ceylonese Mahâwanso. The monks were of the school of the *Samattvayas*, and their monastery was famous for having produced three of the most eminent Buddhist controversialists. This monastery I would identify with the *Sugrib Parbat* which I have already described as being about 500 feet long by 300 feet broad. The great size and rectangular form of this ruin are sufficient to show that it must have been a monastery, but this is placed beyond all doubt by the existence of an interior well and by the remains of cloistered rooms forming the four sides of the enclosure. Its position to the south of the city, and to the east or left of the road, has already been specially noticed as agreeing with the recorded position of the monastery.

Beside the monastery there was a *Stupa* of Asoka, 200 feet in height, built on the spot where Buddha preached the law during his six years' residence at Sâketa. This monument I would identify with the *Mani-Parbat*, which is still 65 feet in height, and which with its masonry facing must once have been at least as high again, and with the usual lofty pinnacle of metal may easily have reached a height of 200 feet. Hwen Thsang ascribes the erection of this monument to Asoka, and I see no reason to question the accuracy of his statement, as the mixed structure of half earth and half masonry must undoubtedly be very ancient. The earliest *Stupas*, or *topes*, were simple earthen mounds or barrows,

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cheap and ready materials for the construction of the numerous Muhammadan tombs, as well as of the neighbouring bridge and mosque. If I am right in my identification of this mound as the remains of the *Stupa* containing the hair and nails of Buddha, I think that an excavation in the centre of the mound might, perhaps, verify the accuracy of my conclusions.

The people are unanimous in their assertion that the old city to the north of these mounds was called *Bareta*. Ayodhya or Ajudhya, they say, was the capital of Rama, but the later city was called *Bareta*. As this name has no similarity either to *Sikote* or *Nesika*, I can only set it down as another appellation of the old town, for which we have no authority but tradition. I was disappointed when at Ajudhya in not hearing even the most distant allusion to the legend of the tooth-brush tree of Buddha, but the tradition still exists, as I heard of it quite unexpectedly at two different places immediately afterwards, first at *Hatila*, distant 15 miles, and next at Gonda, 29 miles to the north of Ajudhya.

XVIII HATILA, OR ASOKPUR

The ancient territory of Ayodhya was divided by the Sarju or *Ghaghra* River into two great provinces,—that to the north being called *Uttara Kosala*, and that to the south *Banaodha*. Each of these was again sub-divided into two districts. In Banaodha these are called *Pachham-rât* and *Purab-rât*, or the western and eastern districts, with reference to their bearing from Ajudhya; and in Uttara Kosala they are *Gauda* (vulgarly Gonda) to the south of the Rapti, and Kosala to the north of the Rapti, or Râwati, as it is universally called in Oudh. Some of these names are found in the Purânas; thus in the Vayu Purana, Lava, the son of Rama, is said to have reigned in Uttara Kosala; but in the Matsya, Linga, and Kurma Purâns, *Srâvasti* is stated to be in *Gauda*. These apparent discrepancies are satisfactorily explained when we learn that *Gauda* is only a sub-division of Uttara Kosala, and that the ruins of *Srâvasti* have actually been discovered in the district of *Gauda*, which is the Gonda of the maps.* The extent of *Gauda* is also proved by the old

* See Plate No. I, map of the Gangetic Provinces.

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with the ruins of the temple of Asoknâth Mahadeo containing a large broken *lingam*. Portions of the brick walls, which still remain, show that the temple was only 12 feet square; but the whole has been lifted up by the roots of a gigantic Pipal tree, which still hold the bricks together by their interlacings. These remains attracted the attention of Buchanan Hamilton during his survey of Gorakhpur, who remarks that "a wild fig tree having taken root on the *linga* will soon cover it"* This actually took place, and the *linga* was almost completely hidden by the matted roots of the Pipal, until the tree was cut down by the Tahsildar of the neighbouring village of Vazirganj in A. D. 1862. As the cut stem of the Pipal shows 849 annual rings, the tree must have been planted in A. D. 1013, during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni. This, indeed, is about the date of the temple itself, which is said to have been built by *Suhri-dal*, Raja of Asokpur, and the antagonist of Sayid Sâlâr. The Raja is also called *Suhal-dhar*, *Sohil-dal*, and *Sohil Deo*, and is variously said to have been a *Thâru*, a *Bhar*, a *Kâlahansa*, or a *Bars Rajput*. The majority, however, is in favor of his having been a *Thâru*. The mound with the *Mahwa* tree is called *Raja Sohil-dal-kalhalanga*, or *Sohil-dal's seat*." His city of Asokpur is said to have extended to *Domariya-Dih*, 2 *kos* to the north, and to *Sareya Dih*, half a *kos* to the south of the temple. At both of these places there are old brick-covered mounds, in which several hundreds of coins have been lately found. Most of the coins belong to the early Musulmân Kings of Delhi, the Ghoris and Khiljis; but there were also a few Hindu coins, in base silver and copper, with the Boar incarnation of Vishnu on one side, and the legend of *Sri-mad-Adi-Varâha* on the reverse in mediæval characters. As these coins are referred to by name, in an inscription of A. D. 920, as *Sri-mad-Adi-Varaha drammas*, or "Boar incarnation drachmas," the mounds in which they have been discovered must be of still earlier date. Tradition gives the genealogy of the Rajas of *Gauda* as follows:

A. D. 900	1	Mora-dhaj, or Mayura-dhwaja
925	2	Hans-dhaj, or Hansa-dhwaja.
950	3	Makar-dhaj, or Makara-dhwaja.
975	4	Sudhanwa-dhaj.
1000	5	Suhridal-dhaj, contemporary of Mahmud

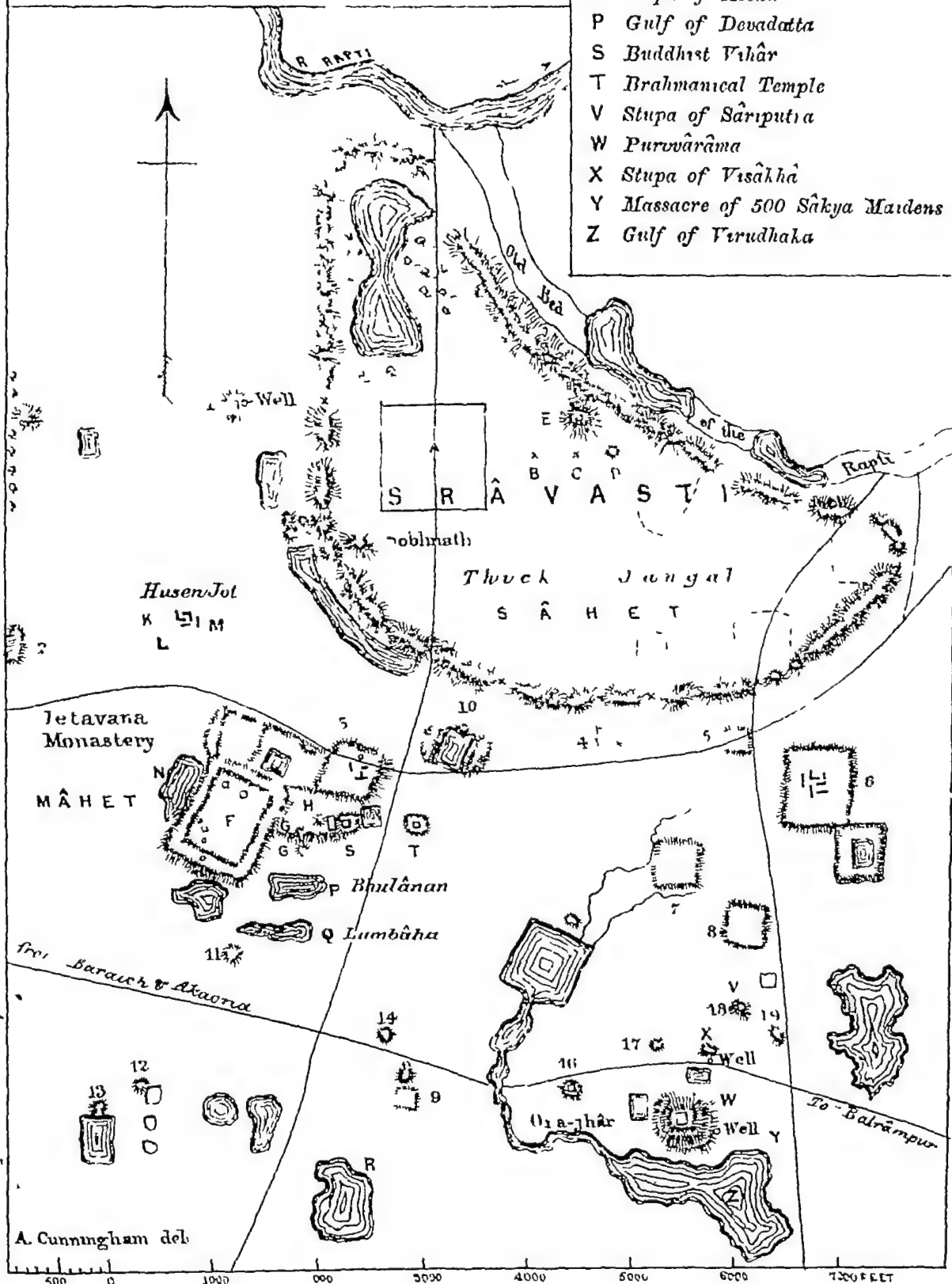
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MAP
of the Ruins of
SRĀVASTĪ
and the
JETAVANA MONASTERY
now called
SAHET-MAHET.

- B Stupa of Pāsēnāsīt
- C Vihar of Prāyapātī
- D Stupa of Sūdatta
- E Stupa of the Angulimālyas
- GG Two Stone Pillars
- H Stupa of the Sick Bhikshu
- K Stupa of Mūḍgalaputī
- L Well of Buddha
- M Stupa of Asoka
- P Gulf of Devadatta
- S Buddhist Vihār
- T Brahmanical Temple
- V Stupa of Sāriputī
- W Purvārāma
- X Stupa of Visākhā
- Y Massacre of 500 Sākya Maidens
- Z Gulf of Virudhaka



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the south bank of the Rapti, called *Sâhet Mâhet*, in which I discovered a colossal statue of Buddha with an inscription containing the name of Srâvasti itself, I have no hesitation in correcting Hwen Thsang's distance from 500 *li* to 350 *li* as proposed above.

The ruined city of Sâhet Mâhet is situated between Akaona and Balrâmpur, at 5 miles from the former and 12 miles from the latter, and at nearly equi-distances from Bahraich and Gonda. In shape it is an almost semi-circular crescent, with its diameter of one mile and a third in length curved inwards and facing the north-east, along the old bank of the Rapti River. The western front, which runs due north and south, for three-quarters of a mile, is the only straight portion of the enclosure. The ramparts vary considerably in height; those to the west being from 35 to 40 feet in height, while those on the south and east are not more than 25 or 30 feet. The highest point is the great north-west bastion, which is 50 feet above the fields. The north-east face, or shorter curve of the crescent, was defended by the Rapti, which still flows down its old bed during the annual floods. The land ramparts on the longer curve of the crescent must once have been defended by a ditch, the remains of which yet exist as a swamp, nearly half a mile in length, at the south-west corner. Everywhere the ramparts are covered with fragments of brick, of the large size peculiar to very ancient cities; and, though I was unable to trace any remains of walls except in one place, yet the very presence of the bricks is quite sufficient to show that the earthen ramparts must once have been crowned by brick parapets and battlements. The portion of the parapet wall, which I discovered still standing in the middle of the river face, was 10 feet thick. The whole circuit of the old earthen ramparts, according to my survey, is 17,300 feet, or upwards of $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles. Now, this is the exact size of 20 *li* or $3\frac{1}{3}$ miles which Hwen Thsang gives to the palace alone; but as the city was then deserted and in ruins, he must have mistaken the city itself for the palace.* It is certain at least that the suburbs outside the walls must have been very limited, indeed—as the place is almost entirely surrounded with the remains

* See plate No L for a map of the ruins of Srâvasti, and compare Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 93

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of his successor, whose name is not given, the Brahmans, were overcome by *Vasubandhu*, the eminent disciple of *Manorhita*. The probable date of these two Kings may be set down as ranging from A. D. 79 to 120. For the next two centuries *Srāvastī* would seem to have been under the rule of its own Kings, as we find *Khrādhāra* and his nephews mentioned as Rajas between A. D. 275 and 319. But there can be little doubt that during the whole of this time *Srāvastī* was only a dependency of the powerful Gupta Dynasty of Magadha, as the neighbouring city of *Sāketa* is specially said to have belonged to them. "Princes of the Gupta race," says the *Vayu Purāna*, "will possess all those countries,—the banks of the Ganges to Prayāga, and *Sāketa*, and Magadha."^{*} From this time *Srāvastī* gradually declined. In A. D. 400 it contained only 200 families, in A. D. 632 it was completely deserted, and at the present day the whole area of the city, excepting only a few clearances near the gateways, is a mass of almost impenetrable jangal

Before attempting to identify the existing remains of *Sāhet-Māhet* with the famous monuments of *Srāvastī*, it will be as well to compare and reconcile the few discrepant statements of the Chinese pilgrims, so that the description of the holy places may not be interrupted by discussion. Of these discrepancies, perhaps the most notable is the difference in the name of the city itself, which Fa Hian gives as *She-wei*, while Hwen Thsang writes it, as correctly as it is possible to do in Chinese syllables, *She-lo-fa-si-ti*, or *Srāvastī*. But this difference is more apparent than real, as there can be little doubt that *She-wei* is only a slight alteration of the abbreviated Pali form of *Sewet* for *Sāvatthi*, which is found in most of the Ceylonese books. Similarly the modern name of *Sāhet* is evidently only a variation of the Pali *Sāwet*. The other name of *Māhet* I am unable to explain, but it is perhaps only the usual rhyming addition of which the Hindus are so fond, as in *ulta-pulta*, or "topsy-turvey," which many of the people say is the true meaning of *Sāhet-Māhet*, in allusion to the utter ruin of the whole place. But some say that the name was originally *Set-met*, and as this form seems to be only a corruption of *Sewet*, it is probable that *Sahet-Mahet*, or *Sāhet-Māhet* is simply a

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mounds near the middle of the river face of the ramparts. The smaller one, which is about 25 feet in height, corresponds with the *stupa* of Sudatta, and the larger one, which is 35 feet in height, with the other *stupa*, which is particularly stated to have been a larger one. The *Anguli-mályas* were the followers of a particular sect which was established by a converted brigand who had received the name of *Anguli-māla* or "finger garland," from his practice of cutting off the fingers of his victims to form a garland which he wore round his neck.

On leaving the city by the south gate, both pilgrims went at once to the eastern gate of the great monastery of *Jetavana*, which was one of the eight most celebrated Buddhist buildings in India.* It was erected during the life-time of Buddha by *Sudatta*, the minister of King Prasenajita, and it received its name of *Jetavana*, or "Jeta's garden," because the garden in which it was built had been purchased from Prince Jeta. The story of the building is given by Hardy from the Ceylonese annals.† According to them the Prince, who was unwilling to part with his garden, demanded as its price as many gold *masurans* as would cover it, which Sudatta at once promised. When the garden was cleared, and all the trees, except Sandal and Mango, were cut down, the money was brought and spread out over the ground until the whole was covered, when the sum was found to be 18 *kotis*, or 180 millions of *masurans*. The garden is said to have been 1,000 cubits in length and the same in breadth, or 4,000 cubits in circuit. Extravagant as the sum may seem, it is still too small to have covered the garden, if we are to take Mr. Hardy's cubits at 18 inches, as each *masuran* would be one inch and eight-tenths in length and breadth, which is about three times the size of the old Indian silver coins. Unfortunately the dimensions of the *Jetavana* are not stated either by Fa Hian or Hwen Thsang; but the ruined mound of the monastery still exists, and its dimensions do not exceed 1,000 feet in length by 700 feet in breadth. Now, it is curious

* In Remusat's translation of Fa Hian's travels, it is stated that "the town has two gates,—one facing the east, and the other the north." As the south gate is mentioned by both pilgrims, it was certain that this statement was erroneous. Mr. Beal's more accurate translation shows that the two gates thus described belong to the *Vihara* and not to the city. The position of the north gate is distinctly indicated by a depression in the centre of that side.

† Hardy, "Manual of Buddhism," p. 216

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From this account I infer, though somewhat doubtfully, that the new temple was not more than two storeys in height. I conclude also that the place was already on the decline, as a little more than two centuries later, when visited by Hwen Thsang, it was found utterly ruined and deserted.

The great mound of ruins, which I propose to identify with the Jetavana, is situated just half a mile distant from the south-west corner of the old city. It is rectangular in form, being 1,000 feet long from north-east to south-west, and 700 feet broad. It is worth noting, as it is most probably not accidental, that the central line of the rectangle falls upon a lofty mound, inside the south-west angle of the city called *Sobhnâth*, which is the name of one of the Jain hierarchs. The shape of the monastery is defined by a gentle rise all round the edge of the mound, which I take to represent the ruins of the monks' cells that once formed the surrounding walls of the enclosure. The highest part, which is the south side, is not more than 12 feet above the neighbouring ground, while the other sides are not more than eight or ten feet. But the whole area was so thickly covered with jangal, that I found it difficult to take even a few measurements. During my stay at Sâhet I cut pathways to all the ruined eminences within the enclosure, and after clearing the jangal around them, I began an excavation in each to ascertain the nature of the original building. With the largest mound, which was near the south end of the central line of the enclosure, I was unsuccessful. It was 15 feet in height, and looked the most promising of all; but I found nothing but earth and broken bricks, although I was assured by the people that numbers of large bricks had been carried away from it at different times. Both from its size and position, I am inclined to look upon this mound as the remains of the original temple of the *Jetavana*. In a lower mound, close by to the west, my excavations disclosed the walls of a small temple, not quite $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet square inside, with a doorway to the north, and the remains of a semi-circular brick pedestal against the south wall. The walls were upwards of three feet thick, but the whole building was only a little more than 13 feet square, from which, taking the altitude at three and a half times the side, I conclude that the temple could not have exceeded 46 feet in height.

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long flat slab $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot, with a pair of hollow foot-marks in the centre and two sunken panels on each side. At the back of the incised feet towards the pedestal there was a rough hollow, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 4 inches broad, which, judging from what I have seen in Burma, must once have held a long stone or metal frame for the reception of lights in front of the statue. But all this arrangement was certainly of later date than the statue itself, for on opening up the floor it was found that the *Buddha-pad* slab concealed the lower two lines of an inscription, which fortunately had been thus preserved from injury, while the third or uppermost line had been almost entirely destroyed.

The statue is a colossal standing figure of Buddha the Teacher, 7 feet 4 inches in height. His left hand rests on his hip, and his right hand is raised in the act of teaching. The right shoulder is bare as in all Buddhist figures, and there is the usual aureole or nimbus round the head, close to the neck there are two small holes cut through the nimbus which, being larger in front than behind, were evidently intended for metal cramps to fix the statue to the wall. Unfortunately the head is broken, as well as both arms, but the body of the figure is uninjured. The attitude is stiff and restrained, the two feet being exactly in the same position and somewhat too far apart. The statue is of spotted red sandstone, such as is found in the quarries near Mathura and Fatchpur Sikri; and as we know from recent discoveries that the sculptor's art was in a very flourishing state at Mathura during the first centuries of the Christian era, I feel satisfied that the *Srāvastī* colossus must have been brought from that city. The inscription is imperfect at the beginning just where it must have contained the date. It now opens with the figure 10 and some unit of the Gupta numerals, which must be the day of the month, and then follow the words *etaye purvvaṇṇe*, which Professor Dowson thinks must mean "on this notable occasion," or some equivalent expression. Then come the names of the donors of the statue, three mendicant monks, named *Pushpa*, *Siddhya-Mihra*, and *Bala-Treṇṇṇaka*; next follow the title of *Bodhisatwa*, the name of the place, *Srāvastī*, and the name of Buddha as *Bhagavata*. The inscription closes with the

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* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, p. 427

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have been a gate to the east, as all the existing ruins are on that side. On issuing from the gate the first monuments noticed by both pilgrims are two lofty stone pillars, one on each side of the road. Hwen Thsang says that they had been erected by Asoka, that they were 70 feet high, and that the left column was crowned by a cupola or dome, and the other by an elephant. But Fa Hian, on the contrary, describes these figures as a wheel and an ox. I feel satisfied that Fa Hian is right as to the first, as the wheel is frequently represented in the Sanchi sculptures as crowning the capitals of columns, and we know that it was also used as a type of Buddha himself as the *Chakravartti* Raja, or King who "turned the wheel" of the law, or, in other words, who made religion advance. With regard to the animal that crowned the other pillar I am unable to offer any remark, except the obvious explanation that the trunk of the elephant must have been broken off before the time of Fa Hian, otherwise it is impossible to conceive how he could have mistaken the figure for that of an ox. But this discrepancy in the accounts of the two pilgrims is the best argument that I can offer for the mistake which I believe them both to have made regarding the animal that crowned the Sankisa pillar.* There are no remains of these pillars, but there are two slight eminences only 300 feet distant from the monastery which may have been the basements on which the pillars stood, as the pathway leading to the ruined mound on the east side runs between them.

To the north-east of the monastery of Jetavana, and therefore to the north of the pillars, there was a *stupa* built on the spot where Buddha had washed the hands and feet of a sick monk and had cured his sickness. The remains of this *stupa* still exist in a mass of solid brick-work, to the north of the presumed pillar basements, and at a distance of 550 feet from the Jetavana monastery. This ruined mass, which is $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, is built entirely of large bricks, 24 by 10 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which is a sufficient proof of its antiquity. I made an excavation from the top, to a depth of 20 feet, without any result save the verification of the fact that the ruin was a mass of solid brick-work.†

* See *ante* pp 276 277. The supposed sites of these pillars are marked GG in the plan

† The site of this *stupa* is marked H in the plan.

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description. There are, however, in another position the remains of two temples which answer the description so accurately as to leave but little doubt that they must be the buildings in question. The first, or west temple is described by both pilgrims as containing a seated figure of Buddha, while the second or east temple belonged to the Brahmans. Both were 60 feet in height, and the Brahminical temple was called the "shadow-covered," because, as the credulous Buddhists asserted, it was covered by the shadow of the Buddhist temple when the sun was in the west, while its own shadow, when the sun was in the east, never covered the Buddhist temple, but was always "deflected to the north." Now, the two ruins which I would identify with these temples are situated to the east and west of the road leading from the city, and due east and west from each other.* They correspond, therefore, exactly as to the relative position with each other; but instead of being only 70 paces, or 175 feet, from the monastery, the nearest is nearly 700 feet from the great mound of ruins. It is highly probable, however, that the surrounding walls of the monastery may have extended as far as the two stone pillars on the east, in which case the nearest temple mound would be within 250 feet of the walls, and the whole enclosure would then very nearly correspond in size with the dimensions recorded in the Ceylonese annals. As this increased size would also bring two tanks within the limits of the monastery, which, according to the *Cingalese*, were actually included within the walls, I feel inclined to adopt the larger measurement of 1,000 cubits side, or 4,000 cubits circuit, as the true size of the Great Jetavana Monastery.

To the north-west of the monastery Hwen Thsang places a well and a small *stupa*, which marked the spot where *Maudgala-putra* tried in vain to unloose the girdle of *Sâriputra*. As the distance is not mentioned it may be inferred that the *stupa* was close by, and therefore I would identify the site with that of the shrine of *Pur-Barâna* in the small village of Husen Jot, which is within 700 feet of the north-west corner of the monastery† Near the same place there was also a *stupa* of Asoka, and a stone

* These sites are marked S and T in the plan

† Marked K in the plan

pillar, which the King had raised to note the spot where Buddha and his right-hand disciple Śāriputra had taken exercise and explained the law. I could find no trace of any of these monuments, and I conclude that the *stupas*, as usual, must have furnished materials for the erection of *Pir Barāna's* shrine.

The situation of the next holy place, which both pilgrims call the "Wood of the Recovered Eyes," is fixed at $\frac{4}{5}$ or two-thirds of a mile, to the north west of the monastery. This position is now represented exactly by the village of *Rāygarh Gulariya*, which is situated in the midst of a very large grove of trees. The present grove is said to have been planted only two generations back, but the trees about the village itself are of great age, and the name of *Gulariya* points to some remarkable *Gular* tree as more ancient than the village itself. The legend attached to this spot is sufficiently marvellous. Five hundred brigands having been blinded by order of King Prasenajita, attracted the compassion of Buddha, who restored their eye-sight, threw away their staves, or, according to Fa Hian, planted them in the ground, when they immediately took root, and grew to be a large grove, which was called the "Wood of the Recovered Eyes." The monks of *Jetavana* were in the habit of repairing to this grove for exercise and meditation, and all the spots which holy Buddhists had made famous by their meditations were marked by inscriptions or by *stupas*. There is one small brick mound to the east of the grove but I could find no trace of any inscriptions, although rewards were offered for even a single letter.

We now come to the second great monument of *Srāvastī* the celebrated *Purccārāma* or "Eastern Monastery," which was built by the lady *Viśākhā*, who has already been mentioned in my account of *Sāket*, or *Ayodhya*. Fa Hian places this monument at 6 or 7 $\frac{1}{2}$, or rather more than a mile to the north-east of the *Jetavana*. But this bearing is certainly wrong, as it would carry us right into the middle of the old city. I would therefore read "south-east" which

* Read Fa Hian, p. 78, and Julien & Hwen Thsang II, 68.—In this instance the latter pilgrim has omitted to give his usual transliteration of the name in Chinese syllables. M. Julien proposes *Apāra* but I prefer *Apāra* or *Apāra* which I think may be the original name of the neighbouring town of *Alhara* or *Alhara* which I only think distant.

is the direction of a very large mound, called *Ora-jhâr* or "Basket-shakings," that is upwards of a mile from the *Jetavana*.* Hwen Thsang places the *Vihārā* and *stupa* of Visâkhâ at more than 4 *li*, or upwards of 3,500 feet, to the east of the "shadow-covered temple" of the Brahmans. Now, the *Ora-jhâr* mound is just 4,000 feet to the south-east of the ruined mound, which I have already identified with the Brahminical temple. I am therefore quite satisfied that it is the remains of the great *Vihāra* of the *Purvârāma*, or Eastern Monastery. Hwen Thsang's account of this famous monastery is meagre; his whole description being limited to the fact that "in this place Buddha overcame the Brahmans and received an invitation from a lady named Visâkhâ." Fa Hian's notice is equally brief. We must therefore turn to the Ceylonese annals for an account of the lady and her works.† According to them Visâkhâ was the daughter of Dhananja, a wealthy merchant of *Sâhet*. At 15 years of age she was married to Purnna-Vardhana, the son of *Migâra*, a rich merchant of *Srāvastī*, and from that time her whole life was spent in the observance of the religious rites of Buddhism. She was the means of converting her father-in-law *Migâra*, and "she was called in consequence" *Migâra-Mâtâvī*, and became the mother or chief of the *Upâsekawas*, or female lay-disciples of Buddha. Towards the end of her career she determined to sell her wedding ornaments to obtain funds for the erection of a *Vihāra*, "but there was no one in *Sewet* who had wealth enough to purchase them." She therefore bought a garden at the east side of the city, and expended immense treasures in the erection of a *Vihāra*, which was called *Purvârāma*, or the Eastern Monastery, from the place in which it stood."

The great mound, now called *Ora-jhâr*, is a solid mass of earth 70 feet in height, which was formerly crowned by a

* Mr Beal thinks that Fa Hian is probably correct, as the name of *Purvârāma* "would indicate east from the city"—Fa Hian, page 78. I have surveyed these runs, and have the plan now before me, and I can only repeat that Fa Hian's bearing of N E is undoubtedly wrong, as 6 or 7 *li* to the north east would place the *Purvârāma* in the midst of the Rapti River *due north of the city*. I take the name of *Purvârāma*, or Eastern Monastery, to refer to its position, with regard to the *Jetavana* Monastery, from which the *Ora-jhâr* mound lies south-east by east. There are no runs to the east of the old city, and the *Purvârāma* can only be looked for somewhere between east and south east of the *Jetavana*.—See Plate No. L. I have now considered the whole subject over again, and I adhere to my first identification. The mound marked No. 6 would answer the requirements of both pilgrims, but it is very low, while the great *Ora-jhâr* mound seems much more likely to be the remains of the great monastery built by the wealthiest lady in the land.—See W in the plan.

† Hardy "Manual of Buddhism," p. 227

Now it is remarkable that, according to the account of Hwen Thsang, this stupa was also referred to a Chakravartti Raja by the Buddhists of the 7th century. He states that at somewhat less than 200 $\frac{1}{2}$ (that is, less than 33 miles, or say about 30 miles) to the north west of Vaisālī, which is the exact position of the Kesariya stupa, there was an ancient town which had been deserted for many ages. It possessed a stupa built over the spot where Buddha had announced that in one of his former existences he had been a Bodhisatwa, and had reigned over that town as a *Chakravartti Raja*, named *Mahadeva* *. It can hardly, I think be doubted that the tradition of Raja Ben preserves the very same story which is recorded by Hwen Thsang. That the stupa was intended to commemorate a Chakravartti Raja might also have been inferred from its position at the meeting of four principal roads. For a Chakravartti Raja, said Buddha addressing Ananda, "they build the *thupo* at a spot where four principal roads meet." Now to the south of Kesariya, within one-quarter of a mile of the stupa, the two great thoroughfares of the district cross each other, namely, that from Patna northward to Bettiah, and that from Chapra across the Gandak, north-eastwards to Nopāl.

On the east side of the Kesariya stupa a gallery has been excavated right to the centre of the building. This is said to have been done upwards of 10 years ago by one Kāsi Nāth Babu, the servant of a Colonel Sāheb. As the name of 'Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Madras Engineers, 1814,' is inscribed on the Bakhra Pillar. I think it probable that the excavation was made by his orders. No discovery was made and if I am right in my identification of this stupa with that which was erected on the spot where Buddha announced his previous existence as a Chakravartti Raja, it is almost certain that it would not have been the depository of relics or of other objects. The monument was in fact, only a memorial stupa erected to perpetuate the fame of one of Buddha's acts and not a sepulchral stupa for the reception of relics.

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to the Purvârama I have little doubt that this is the *stupa* which *Visâkhâ* built on the spot where Buddha had overcome the Brahmans in argument.*

The last place mentioned by the pilgrims is the spot where King *Virudhaka* halted with his army to converse with Buddha, and out of respect for the teacher gave up his expedition against the *Sâkyas*, and returned to his capital. Hwen Thsang states that this famous spot was close to the monastery of *Visâkha* on the south side, while Fa Hian says that it was 4 *li*, or two-thirds of a mile, to the south-west of the city. The former is the more probable position, as it is to the south-east and on the high road to *Kapîlanagara*, the capital of the *Sâkyas*. Close by there was a *stupa* to mark the spot where 500 *Sâkya* maidens were afterwards massacred by *Virudhaka* for refusing to enter his harem. Near the *stupa* there was a dry tank, or gulf, in which *Virudhaka* had been swallowed up.† According to the legend, Buddha had predicted that *Virudhaka* would be destroyed by fire within seven days after the massacre. When the seventh day arrived, the King, accompanied by his women, proceed gaily to a large tank where he entered a boat, and was rowed to the middle of the water. But flames burst forth from the waters and consumed the boat, and the earth opened beneath the tank, and *Virudhaka* "fell alive into hell." The only large piece of water that I could find is a nameless tank close to the south side of *Visâkha's* temple, and therefore in the very position indicated by Hwen Thsang; but there are no existing remains near it that could be indentified with the *stupa* of the 500 *Sakya* maidens.

The monuments of *Srâvasti* hitherto described by the pilgrims are directly connected with the personal history of Buddha. The places where he sat and walked, where he taught his law, and where he worsted the Brahmans in argument, were all specially holy in the eyes of devout Buddhists. But these sacred monuments formed only a small portion of the Buddhist buildings of the great city of *Srâvasti*, where, according to Hwen Thsang, the monuments were counted by hundreds. Fa Hian, however, quotes a tradition which

* Marked X in the plan.

† Marked Y and Z in the plan.

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To the north north-east of the stupa and rather less than half a mile distant there is a small mound which has been partially excavated to furnish materials for the bridges on the high road which, within the last few years, have been

with brick ruins. According to tradition, the town belonged to Raja *Suhr-dal*, after whose death it was destroyed by the Muhammadans, and remained uninhabited until about one hundred years ago, when a *Bairági*, named *Ajudhya Dás*, established himself under the Banyan tree and discovered the female figure which is now worshipped as *Sita Máî*. The present village is situated amongst brick ruins one-quarter of a mile to the north of the road leading from Akaona to Bahraich. All the fields around are strewn with broken bricks, and within 1,000 feet of the village to the north-west there is a mound of brick ruins 800 feet long from east to west, and 300 feet broad. Beyond the mound, and to the north of the village, there is a large irregular shaped sheet of water, nearly half a mile in length, called *Sita-Deva Tál*. But this name cannot be older than the discovery of the statue which is attributed to *Sitâ*.

The west end of the mass of ruins is very low, but it is covered with broken walls and fine trees, and was therefore most probably the site of the monastic establishment. The general height of the east end is 16 feet above the fields, but rises to 20 feet at the south-west corner. At this point the mound is formed of solid brick-work, which, after close examination, I discovered to be the remains of a large *stupa*. As two different measurements gave a diameter of not less than 70 feet, this *stupa* must have been one of the largest and most important in the famous Province of *Uttara Kosala*. Hwen Thsang mentions only two *stupas* at this place,—one to the south of the town being built on the spot where *Kâsyapa Buddha* had performed his meditations under a Banyan tree, and the other to the north of the town, containing the complete body of *Kâsyapa*. This is also confirmed by its size, as Fa Hian calls this *stupa* a great one. The *stupa* on the mound must certainly represent the latter monument, because the tank precludes the possibility of any other having existed to the northward of it. I wished very much to have made an excavation in this mound, but the presence of a *lingam* of Mahadeo on the top of it, which with *Sita-Mâî* shares the devotions of the villagers, was an effectual check against any excavations. This is the more to be regretted, as the *stupa* is said to have been built by Asoka, an attribution which might have been verified by an exploration of its interior.

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partly brick and partly *kankar* blocks, which betray their origin by their carvings and by the presence of the *Swastika* symbol, or mystic cross. The walls were originally of brick, but they have long ago disappeared, and the only parts of the old fort now standing are the gateway and the *Shah Bârij*. The foundation of the latter is, however, of Hindu construction, and as there are many carved bricks lying about, I presume that it was a temple. The fort is provided with a well $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and $51\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep to the water level.

The tradition of the place is, that the building of the fort was finished on Friday, the 9th of the waxing moon of *Chaitra*, in the *Samvat* year 1362, or A. D. 1305, by *Hâhâ-jâl*, a renegade Hindu, who is said to have been the Vazir of *Ala-ud-din Ghorî*. For Ghorî we must read *Khuljî* to bring the King's name into agreement with the date, and as the people are in the habit of styling all the Pathans as Ghorîs, the alteration is perfectly allowable. But who was *Hâhâ-jâl*? As a renegade Hindu and the Vazir of Ala-ud-din, he might perhaps be the same person as *Kafur*, who in A. D. 1305 was appointed as Malik Naib to the command of the army for the conquest of the Dakhan. I procured several of Ala-ud-din's coins at Nimsar, and in his reign I conclude that the fort passed from the hands of the Hindus into those of the Musulmâns. The original fort is said to have been as old as the Pândus; and if the derivation of the name of the place has been truly handed down, it must have been occupied even earlier than the time of the Pândus.*

XXII. BARIKHAR, OR VAIRATKHERA.

Barikhâr is the name of a village on the top of an extensive old mound called *Vairât-khera*, which is situated on the high road between Nimsar and Pilibhit, at 42 miles from the former, and 68 miles from the latter place. *Barikhâr* is said to be a corruption of *Bariyakhera*, or *Vairât-khera*, and its foundation is attributed to *Vairât Râja* in the time of the Pândus. The ruined mound is 1,000 feet in length at top from east to west by 600 feet in breadth, and from 16 to 20 feet in height. But the dimensions at the base are much more, as the slope is very gentle, being 200 feet in length on

* On the opposite bank of the Gumti there is an old mound called *Ora-jhar*, and *Oradh*, as well as *Benunagar*, which is said to have been the residence of Benu Râja.

Now it is remarkable that, according to the account of Hwen Thsang, this stupa was also referred to a Chakravartti Raja by the Buddhists of the 7th century. He states that at somewhat less than 200 $\frac{1}{2}$ (that is, less than 33 miles, or say about 30 miles) to the north west of Vaisālī, which is the exact position of the Kesariya stupa, there was an ancient town which had been deserted for many ages. It possessed a stupa built over the spot where Buddha had announced that in one of his former existences he had been a Bodhisatwa, and had reigned over that town as a *Chakravartti Raja*, named *Mahadeva* *. It can hardly, I think be doubted that the tradition of Raja Ben preserves the very same story which is recorded by Hwen Thsang. That the stupa was intended to commemorate a Chakravartti Raja might also have been inferred from its position at the meeting of four principal roads. For a Chakravartti Raja, said Buddha addressing Ananda, "they build the *stupa* at a spot where four principal roads meet." Now to the south of Kesariya, within one-quarter of a mile of the stupa, the two great thoroughfares of the district cross each other, namely, that from Patna northward to Bettiah, and that from Chapra across the Gandak, north-eastwards to Nopāl.

On the east side of the Kesariya stupa a gallery has been excavated right to the centre of the building. This is said to have been done upwards of 10 years ago by one Kāsi Nāth Babu, the servant of a Colonel Sāheb. As the name of 'Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Madras Engineers, 1814,' is inscribed on the Bakhra Pillar. I think it probable that the excavation was made by his orders. No discovery was made and if I am right in my identification of this stupa with that which was erected on the spot where Buddha announced his previous existence as a Chakravartti Raja, it is almost certain that it would not have been the depository of relics or of other objects. The monument was in fact, only a memorial stupa erected to perpetuate the fame of one of Buddha's acts and not a sepulchral stupa for the reception of relics.

To the north north-east of the stupa and rather less than half a mile distant there is a small mound which has been partially excavated to furnish materials for the bridges on the high road which, within the last few years, have been

the right, I infer that the alphabet was named *Kutila* from this peculiarity in the formation of its letters. But this peculiarity was unnoticed by the original transcriber, and consequently the print types of the *Kutila* characters, which have been prepared both in Germany and in England, are entirely wanting in this special characteristic which gives its name to the alphabet. The letter *l* and the attached vowels are perhaps the most faulty.*

The village of Dewal is situated 16 miles to the south south-east of Pilibhit, on the west bank of the *Kau*, or *Katni* Nala. There are two or three plain brick rooms which are called temples, and in one of these the inscription is deposited; but it is said to have been found amongst the ruins of *Garh-Gâjana*, or *Ilâhâbâs*, on the opposite bank of the stream. *Garh-Gâjana* is a large ruined mound, about 800 feet square, which includes two small tanks on the east side; but although it is called a *Garh*, or fort, it was most probably only the country residence of Raja Lalla, who founded it. The small modern village of *Ilâhâbâs* is situated close to the south-east corner of *Garh-Gâjana*, and near it on the south side are the ruins of a very large temple, amongst which the inscription is said to have been discovered. The figure of the *Varâha* Avatar of Vishnu, which is now in the *Dewal* temple, was found in the same place. The mound of ruins is 200 feet square at base, but the walls of the temple are no longer traceable, as the bricks and kankar blocks have been carried away by the villagers. I traced the remains of at least six other temples around the principal mass of ruin, but there was nothing about them worth noting. To the south there are two larger mounds, which appear to be the remains of an old village.

The *Kau* or *Katni* Nala continues its course to the south for three miles, until opposite the large village of Deoriya, when it turns sharply to the east for two miles to the south end of a large ruined fort which is now called *Garha-Khera*, or the "fort mound." The *Katni* Nala here turns to the north, and after running round the three other sides of the ruined fort returns to within a few hundred yards of the point from whence it took its northerly course. It thus forms

* See Plate No. LI. for a photograph *fac-simile* of this inscription. The translation by Prinsep was published in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, 1837, page 777.

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mere epithet descriptive of the clearness of its waters. And as the canal was drawn from the Nirmala River, so the villages on its banks are correctly described as being watered by it.

The inscription goes on to say that Raja Lalla and his wife Lakshmi "made many groves, gardens, lakes, and temples." Prinsep has given the last as "many other extensive works," but the term in the original is *devalayataneshu cha*, "and temples," *devalaya* being one of the commonest names for a temple of any kind. In the 27th verse the great temple to which the inscription was attached is said to have been dedicated to *Siva* by the Raja, while the queen built another fane to *Pârvati*. In the next verse they are described as "two divine temples" (*sura-griha*); and in the 32nd verse it is stated that the god and goddess were worshipped together under the title of *Devapalli*. This then must be the origin of the name of *Dewal*, and the great temple mound to the south of *Garh-Gâjana* must be the remains of the two temples dedicated to *Devapalli*.

In the inscription Raja Lalla calls himself the nephew of *Mâns Chandra Pratâpa*, and the grandson of *Vira Varmma*, who is said to be of the race of *Chhindu* and descended from the great Rishi *Chyavana*. This holy sage is mentioned in the Vishnu Purâna as having married Sukanyâ, the daughter of Saryâti, the son of Manu. He is also noticed in the Bhâgavata and Padma Purânas, as appropriating a share of the marriage offerings to the Aswini Kumâras, which entailed the quarrel with Indra, that is alluded to in verse 4 of the inscription. The family therefore was reputed to be of ancient descent; but if Vira Varmma, the grandfather of Lalla was the first Raja, the establishment of the dynasty cannot be dated earlier than A. D. 900. Now the *Bâchhal* Rajputs claim descent from Raja *Vena*, whose son was *Virât*, the reputed founder of Barikhar or *Virât Khera*, and whom I believe to be the same as Vira Varmma of the inscription. To Raja *Vena*, or *Ben*, is attributed the erection of the great forts of *Garha-khera*, and *Sâhgarh*, and to his queen, *Ketaki Râni*, is assigned the excavation of the *Râni Tâl* at the old town of *Kâbar*. *Garh Gâjana* and the temples of Dewal were built by Raja Lalla. The town and fort of *Maraori* are attributed to *Moradhwaj*, and *Barkhera*

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is a very strong place inhabited by the tribe of Bâchhal.* Of the origin of the name nothing is known, but it is probably connected with *bâchhna*, to select or choose. The title of *Chhindu*, which is given in the inscription, is also utterly unknown to the people, and I can only guess that it may be the name of one of the early ancestors of the race.

XXIV. PARASUA-KOT.

Four miles to the westward of Balai-Khera there is a long lofty mound lying east and west called *Parasua-kot*, which is said to be the ruins of a temple and other edifices that Bali Raja built for his *Ahîr* servant, named Parasua. The mound is about 1,400 feet long, and 300 feet broad at base, with a height of 35 feet at its loftiest point near the eastern end. On this point there are the brick foundations of a large temple, 42 feet square, with the remains of steps on the east face, and a stone lintel or door step, on the west face. I conclude therefore that the temple had two doors,—one to the east and other to the west,—and as this is the common arrangement of *lingam* temples, it is almost certain that the building must have been dedicated to Siva. Towards the west, the mound gradually declines in height until it is lost in the fields. Forty feet to the west of the temple there are some remains of a thick wall which would seem to have formed part of the enclosure of the temple, which must have been not less than 130 feet square. Five hundred feet further west there are the remains of another enclosure, 100 feet square, which most probably once surrounded a second temple, but the height of the ruins at this point is more than 16 feet above the ground. Although the *Parasua* mound is well known to the people for many miles around, yet there are no traditions attached to the place save the story of *Parasua*, the *Ahir*, which has already been noticed. When we consider that a temple 24 feet square could not have been less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ times its base, or 147 feet in height, and that its floor being 35 feet above the ground the whole height of the building would have been 182 feet, it is strange that no more detailed traditions should exist regarding the builders of so magnificent an edifice. I am of opinion that the temple must have been

* Gladwin's Translation, II, 69

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hands of the Hindus after the death of Firuz Tughlak, it was again captured by Shir Shah, who built the fort of *Shirgarh* to the south of the old fort, for the purpose of keeping the townspeople in check. To the south of Shirgarh there is a fine tank called *Khawâs-Tâl*, which no doubt belongs to the same period, as Khawâs Khan was the name of Shir Shah's most trusted general. That portion of the town called Islâmpur is said to have been built by Islâm Shah, the son of Shir Shah, but it was more probably only re-named by Khawâs Khan in honour of his master's son, during the life time of Shir Shah himself. On the north side there is a shallow sheet of water called the Râm Sâgar, and on the north-west there is an old tank called Râni Tâl, which is attributed to Ketakhi Râni, the queen of Raja Ben, the founder of the dynasty of *Bâchhal* Rajputs. The extreme length of the whole mass of ruins from east to west is 3,500 feet, and the breadth 2,500 feet, the complete circuit being 9,800 feet, or nearly 2 miles. The long continued Muhammadan occupation of five centuries has most effectually swept away all traces of Hinduism; but old coins are occasionally found, of which a few belong to the later Hindu dynasties of the ninth and tenth centuries. From the great size of the place, as well as from its evident antiquity, I should have expected that very old Hindu coins would occasionally be found, but all my enquiries were fruitless, and the only actual traces of Hindu occupation that I could hear of were two small stone figures, of which one was a representation of Durgâ slaying the Mahesâsur, or "Buffalo-Demon," and the other a broken statue of some god which was too much injured to be recognized.

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